

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 187 476

PS 011 509

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TITLE A Developmental Study of Children's Prerogatives and Constraints in Several Domains of School Experience.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 30 Jun 79
GRANT NIE-G-78-0033
NOTE 186p.
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Age Differences; Comparative Analysis; Decision Making; *Educational Environment; *Educational Experience; Elementary Education; *Elementary School Students; *Elementary School Teachers; Interviews; Justice; *Perception; Privacy; School Safety; Student Attitudes; Teacher Attitudes

ABSTRACT

Individual, semi-structured interviews were administered to 154 elementary school children and 47 elementary teachers drawn from middle class suburban schools. Children and teachers were questioned about their perceptions of the social and territorial constraints and prerogatives children have in school (their felt status) and those they ought to have (normative status). They were also questioned about their evaluations of several dimensions of the school environment. The interview topics were organized into ten variables: territoriality, privacy, three domains of decision making, and school as a just, responsive, safe, liked, and important environment. The study yielded the following findings: (1) Children's and teachers' perceptions of school were positive. (2) With the exception of privacy and justice, children's and teachers' perceptions of the same recurring events were markedly different. Children saw much less congruence between their felt and normative status than teachers did and saw themselves as much more constrained than teachers thought they were. (3) Children's perceptions of their status changed significantly over grade level in the direction of less congruence, less felt constraint and more normative prerogative. However, teacher perceptions showed little variation with grade, suggesting a poor fit between the world views (both felt and normative) of teachers and children at the several grade levels. (4) There was a marked action-value split in which children's and teachers' perceptions of values were much more alike than their respective perceptions of which actions were allowed to children in school. Discussion and recommendations focused on the implications of these findings for tension between children and their schools, for the school's non-collaboration with children in the expression of their emerging social competence, and for the exploratory interview as a feasible and valid research method. (Author/MP)

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A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY OF CHILDREN'S PREROGATIVES AND
CONSTRAINTS IN SEVERAL DOMAINS OF SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

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June 30, 1979

PS 011509

Presented to the National Institute of Education Under Grant # NIE-G-78-0033

ABSTRACT

Individual semi-structured interviews were administered to 154 elementary school children and 47 elementary teachers drawn from middle class suburban schools. Children and teachers were questioned about their perceptions of the social and territorial constraints and prerogatives children have in school (their felt status) and those they ought to have (normative status). They were also questioned about their evaluations of several dimensions of the school environment. The interview topics were organized into ten variables: territoriality, privacy, three domains of decision making, and school as a just, responsive, safe, liked, and important environment. The study yielded four major findings: first, children's and teachers' perceptions of school were positive, on balance. Second, with the exception of privacy and justice, children's and teachers' perceptions of the same recurring events were markedly different. Children saw much less congruence between their felt and normative status than teachers did, and saw themselves as much more constrained than teachers thought they were. Third, children's perceptions of their status changed significantly over grade level in the direction of less congruence, less felt constraint, and more normative prerogative. However, teacher perceptions showed little variation with grade, suggesting a poor fit between the world views, both felt and normative, of teachers and children at the several grade levels. Finally, there was a rather marked action-value split in which children's and teachers' perceptions of values were much more alike than their respective perceptions of which actions were allowed to children in school. Discussion and recommendations focused on the implications of these findings for tension between children and their schools, for the school's non-collaboration with children in the expression of their emerging social competence, and for the exploratory interview as a feasible and valid research method.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to these people:

To Carol Statuto, whose dedication and industry transformed her from a student and Research Assistant into a colleague.

To Gerald Chiappa who typed, duplicated, collated and helped out in a thousand tangible and intangible ways.

To Nancy Glauberman and Ellen Delaney who generously gave time and energy to this project, and did so cheerfully and without fanfare.

To Thomas Blinn and Donald Williams who were patient and generous with their advice on the management and statistical analysis of data.

To the principals and district officers of the nine participating schools. Their role was genuinely collaborative and it is only a promise of anonymity that prevents me from mentioning their names and contributions individually.

To the teachers who volunteered to be interviewed. With little to gain, they offered their reflections on children's lives in school.

To the National Institute of Education and Teachers College of Columbia University for the funds and time, respectively, necessary to carry out this study.

To the parents who gave permission to interview their children. After meeting the children, I understand why.

Finally, to the children who shared with us a universe of sensibility that very few adults ever get to see. What a pleasure it was to be invited into their world.

While none of these people are responsible for the faults of this study, they surely are responsible for its existence. Without their help and generosity the study simply could not have been done. What is it that motivates a school official to open the door to his school, that moves a parent to let a stranger talk to her child, that turns a graduate student into giving friend, that encourages a child, in the words of one, to "tell you about my life"? Whatever it is, that sea of good will, this study bobs on top of it like a cork.

Patrick Lee

New York City
June, 1979

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

As children move through the primary grades what is the pattern of correspondence between their perceptions of the way things are in school (the felt order) and the way things ought to be (the normative order)? And how do children's perceptions compare with teachers' perceptions of the felt and normative orders of the elementary school? These general questions led to the present exploratory study of children's and teachers' thoughts about the role the school plays in supporting or constraining children's social values, particularly their emerging sense of social competence and agency. In addition to yielding much information about how children make sense of the everyday realities of schooling, it was also expected that this study would reveal important areas of consensus and tension between children and their schools.

The most direct strategy for getting answers to these questions was to interview children and teachers about the constraints and prerogatives that characterize the child's everyday life in school. This approach took its lead from Jackson's observation that "strangely enough not too much is known about how young children themselves look upon their school experiences . . . we had better move up closer to the immediate experiences of young children if we are to discover what life in the classroom is really like" (1968, p. 46).

The interviews incorporated a broad range of social conventions and values, including territoriality, privacy, three domains of decision

making, justice, responsiveness, and safety, among others. Samples of second, fourth, and sixth grade children and teachers were individually interviewed in order to get a cross-sectional developmental pattern of their reflections on ten domains of school experience. It was expected that, as children mature, both they and their teachers would modify their perceptions of the felt and normative orders of school experience. Convergence and divergence between these two orders would presumably identify areas of consensus and tension, respectively, between teachers and children. Moreover, the interviews would yield patterns of convergence and divergence within each group's perceptions of the felt and normative orders. Discrepance between children's and teachers' response patterns would indicate the absence and/or breakdown of shared meaning between the two most important interest groups in the school. Convergence, of course, would suggest the opposite. Within each group, the ratio of congruence to discrepance between the two orders of experience would yield another dynamic index of the balance of tension and satisfaction in school.

This approach yielded three basic lines of analysis. The first was between subjects' perceptions of children's felt and normative status in school. The second was between the respective perceptions of children and teachers. And the third was a cross-sectional developmental analysis among three grade levels, covering a mean span of four years in the lives of seven to eleven year old children. Of course, combinations of these three basic lines of analysis were also made, for example, developmental analyses of the relations between felt and normative status, comparisons of children's and teachers' perceptions of the correspondence between the felt and normative orders, etc. Taken collectively, these several analyses yielded a complex and dynamic picture of how children and teachers mutually construct

and interpret a way of life in school, one that importantly effects how children define themselves as individuals in society.

A Note on the Nature of Interview Data

It should be noted that the interview data gathered in the present study are not representations of the "hard realities" of schooling, but are representations of children's and teachers' phenomenal realities. No systematic attempt was made to check their verbal reports against what actually happens in their schools. This note is offered not as an apology for the data, but simply as a description of them. The object of investigation was the child's and teacher's reported meanings about school. Thus, no inferences can be drawn about what "actually" happens in schools, but inferences can be made about some of the meanings schools have for children and teachers. Conversely, a study which takes what actually happens in school as its object of investigation cannot logically make inferences about what school means to participants. The same objective event can mean many things. It depends on who constructs meaning out of the event. Since our interest was in people's perceptions and interpretations of recurring events in school, we approached the people rather than the events themselves.

In fact, this study found widely discrepant perceptions and interpretations of some recurring events, particularly between children and teachers. It is idle to speculate over whose interpretation was right and whose was wrong, since it is the existential fact of the interpretation rather than its rightness which is at issue. Moreover, there is no reason to expect children to have precisely the same perception of reality

as teachers even if the perceptions of both parties are completely accurate. On the contrary, there is good reason for expecting the two groups to have different perceptions of the same events precisely because they negotiate the social reality of the school from rather divergent developmental viewpoints, positions on the power hierarchy, and locations on a voluntary-compulsory continuum.

On the other hand, one would not expect the distribution of teachers' and children's reports to be completely polarized in all respects. The human central nervous system is not given to that degree of subjectivity. Both groups are, after all, interpreting the same social reality and are engaged in an ongoing negotiation of common meanings. Without a sufficient set of shared meanings institutional life would be random to the point of chaos. The settings from which subjects were drawn were not chaotic, but appeared to be reasonably well functioning schools. Thus, whatever degree of discrepant perception and valuing the data yield, it is apparently not more than the system can tolerate. Our interest in doing this study was precisely in the ebb and flow of tensions and satisfactions within an intact and viable system. All things considered, then, a mixture of coincident and discrepant verbal reports would seem to be the most likely outcome; and it was the outcome this study yielded.

Assumptions of the Present Study

The present study made four basic working assumptions, as follows:

1. As children grow through the middle childhood years, they incrementally shake off constraints and assert prerogatives in a broad range of functional domains. This incremental construction and organization of prerogatives in life is subjectively experienced as (and partially caused by) an emerging sense of personal competence.

2. In addition to prerogatives and constraints children actually have, there is another normative set of prerogatives and constraints children think they ought to have. An ongoing project of childhood is to bring one's level of felt (i.e., actually experienced) prerogatives into line with one's level of normative prerogatives, i.e., those the child thinks he merits or ought to have. To the degree that felt prerogatives are discrepant from normative prerogatives, the child's emerging sense of personal competence is challenged and/or frustrated. This in turn generates subjective feelings of tension. Slight to moderate discrepance may be experienced as positive or constructive tension, while moderate to major discrepance is likely to be experienced as negative or debilitating tension.

3. Children negotiate many of their social prerogatives with relevant and available adults. Thus, at home social prerogatives are negotiated with parents, while at school they are negotiated with teachers. Both children and adults bring perceptions about the existing and normative order to these bilateral negotiations. To the degree that their perceptions are compatible, constructive negotiations are probable and a body of shared meaning is likely to result. When their perceptions are markedly divergent, however, constructive negotiations are less likely. Moreover, since adults usually have more social, physical, and institutional power than children, adults' perceptions tend to represent the baseline reality against which children must press their claims for enhanced prerogatives. Without question, children also represent a baseline against which adults must test the reality of their perceptions; but the balance of power to define the real and ideal dimensions of a given setting (e.g., the school setting) rests primarily with adults (e.g., teachers). Widely divergent negotiating positions, then, induce tension for both parties, but

particularly for children. The latter may translate such challenges to their personal competence into feelings of alienation from, or hostility directed toward, the schooling experience.

4. Language is the most important and subtle medium for the negotiation of social meanings between people, whether they be peers or widely discrepant in age. There is a constant flow of verbal messages between adults and children designed to organize their behavior and values around commonly held social meanings. Since language is such an integral part of the construction, codification, and distribution of social meanings, it would seem to follow that children's essential understandings of those meanings can be communicated in language. Thus, we concluded that the simplest and most efficient way to discover children's understanding of the satisfactions and strains of life in the school would be to interview them in everyday language.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

In the present study 154 elementary school children and 47 elementary school teachers were interviewed individually about their perceptions of selected aspects of everyday life in school. The semi-structured interview asked child and teacher subjects parallel sets of questions about several domains of school experience: territory, privacy, three types of decision making, safety, and the school as a just, important, liked, and responsive environment. Subjects were asked about the prerogatives and/or constraints they perceived as actually existing in five of these domains and the prerogatives and constraints they thought ought to exist. The interview method was used as a means of exploring the phenomenal realities of subjects. No attempt was made to verify subject reports in terms of what "really" happens in school. For the purpose of this study, then, subjects' verbal reports were gathered and treated as data. The justification of this approach is grounded in three assumptions: first, that social reality is not "given" to subjects in some objective form, but is actively constructed by them in personally meaningful terms; second, that these constructions are negotiated through exchanges of meaning with other persons, i.e., the child's social constructions are shared, mutual constructions; and, third, since verbal exchange is a necessary medium for the negotiation of social meaning, that subjects' verbal reports are accurate representations of their social constructions, i.e., children can verbally share their social meanings with the investigator in an accurate and valid manner (see Damon, 1977; Geertz, 1973; Harre & Secord, 1972).

Student Sample

A total of 154 students from second ($N = 50$), fourth ($N = 52$), and sixth ($N = 52$) grades were individually interviewed. They were selected from nine schools representing three suburban school districts in the New York Metropolitan area: 82 were selected from one district and 36 from each of the other two districts.

Subject Characteristics

Half the subjects were girls ($N = 77$) and half were boys ($N = 77$), the sexes being equally represented at each of the three grade levels. Subjects ranged in age from 7.0 years at second grade to 12.5 years at sixth grade. The mean age at each level was: second grade, 7.51 years; fourth grade, 9.42 years; sixth grade, 11.62 years. Ethnically, there were 151 white, 1 black, and 2 oriental subjects. Seven of the children lived in single parent households (five parents divorced, two widowed) and 147 came from two parent households. Subjects' families had a mean number of 2.85 children, ranging from one to seven children. Birth order of subjects broke down as follows: only child $N = 9$, first born $N = 51$, middle born $N = 36$, and last born $N = 58$. All subjects had been in their respective schools the entire academic year.

Student SES Level

To determine SES the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) scale was used. The NORC scale measures the perceived level of social standing of occupations. The occupational titles, census codes, and prestige scores are from the National Data Program for the Social Sciences, 1971 (Lin, 1976, pp. 415-427). The NORC scale was particularly attractive to the investigators because it takes a phenomenological stance with respect to SES, i.e.,

perception of social standing of occupation, as opposed to basing SES on "hard" measures of salary or education levels. The scale ranges from a low prestige level occupation, for example, charwoman (score = 12) to a high score of 82 for a physician. Since the NORC scale does not take into account ownership or proprietorship, an adjustment was made by the investigator. A constant of ten points was added to occupations where ownership was involved. For example, on the NORC scale a real estate broker is rated at 44, but if a given broker owned his own brokerage business, 10 points were added to his rating, yielding a score of 54.

In the present sample of 154 children the range of prestige ratings on parents' occupations was 17 to 82; the mean was 52.7, mode 50, and median 50. For purposes of SES analyses the sample was broken down into three groups: high prestige rating, 59-82 (N = 51); middle prestige rating, 49-58 (N = 48); and low prestige rating, 17-48 (N = 55). In the great majority of cases, father's occupation was used to rate subjects' SES level. There were a few cases, however, where subjects' fathers were no longer a means of support or subjects' mothers had more highly rated occupations than their fathers. In these few cases, mother's occupation was used to rate subjects' SES level.

School Characteristics

The nine suburban schools were selected because they appeared to be representative of the mainstream of American elementary schools. According to figures reported by the National Institute of Education (1978b), four of five schools in the United States are located in suburban and rural areas. The selected schools were public schools that followed a more or less conventional approach with respect to policy, regulations, and curriculum. The schools

ranged in size from a low of about 250 to a high of about 700 students. Extreme cases were avoided, e.g., so-called "experimental" schools, or schools where the incidence of acting out behavior was high and flagrant. The objective in selecting schools was to approximate a standard of schooling which was not remarkable in most respects, that is, to locate the study, the subjects, and the subjects' verbal reports in the broad middle range of American elementary education.

Establishing Contact with Schools, Parents, and Subjects

After making initial contact with district superintendents and principals on the telephone and through the mail, the principal investigator met with them to explain the purpose, design, and practical arrangements of the study. Once the school officers agreed to cooperate with the study, parental permission letters were distributed and retrieved at the schools. All parental permission forms were in the investigators' hands before proceeding with the study.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were carefully observed for the duration of the study, as children, parents, and school officials were assured of anonymity. At the time of the interview each subject was explicitly assured that neither school personnel nor parents would have access to the taped interview or any other record of their performance. As far as can be determined, anonymity and the privileged nature of communication have been preserved throughout and subsequent to the conduct of the study.

The Where, When, and Who of the Interviews

Each subject was interviewed individually in a private room at his or her school during the regular school day. The principal investigator (male) interviewed half the subjects ($N = 77$): twenty at the 2nd grade (11 boys, 9 girls), 26 at the 4th grade (12 boys, 14 girls), and 31 at the 6th grade (19 boys and 12 girls). The research assistant (female) interviewed half the subjects ($N = 77$): thirty at the 2nd grade (14 boys, 16 girls), 26 at the 4th grade (14 boys, 12 girls) and 21 at the 6th grade (7 boys, 14 girls).

Teacher Sample

A total of 47 elementary school teachers were interviewed, consisting of 17 second grade teachers and 15 from both the fourth and sixth grade levels. The teacher sample was drawn from three suburban areas around New York City: Nassau County (Long Island), suburban New Jersey, and Westchester County. Teacher subjects were not selected from the same schools as child subjects for two reasons. First, the investigators did not want the teachers to know specific interview items prior to the interview itself. Since child and teacher items were parallel, the probability of contamination would have been high if teachers had access to children who had already been interviewed. Second, and more importantly, we did not want to risk establishing an adversarial relationship between teachers and children in the same classrooms or schools. This might have been disruptive of the everyday climate of participating schools, an outcome that could have been detrimental to our relationships with the volunteer schools, as well as to the validity of the verbal reports of both child and teacher subjects.

Moreover, we did not want to inadvertently occasion classroom discussion of the interview topics, even if such discussion was positive in nature. This would have defeated the purpose of the study, i.e., to tap the uncensored and untutored perceptions of teachers and children about everyday life in school.

Teacher Characteristics

The demographic data described here were obtained by asking teacher subjects to complete an information form. All teachers taught in middle class, suburban, public elementary schools. All were homeroom teachers. Although some had subject specializations in addition to their homeroom duties, none were special teachers of handicapped children. Forty described their classroom settings as conventional and seven as a combination of conventional and open approaches ("semi-open" . . . "modified open" . . . etc.). Six teachers were male (five at the sixth grade level and one at second grade) and 41 were female. Thus, females made up 87% of the sample, corresponding closely to the overall percentage of female teachers in American public elementary schools (NEA Research Division, 1971). Subjects' ages ranged from 23 to 60 with a mean of 35.8 years. Amount of teacher preparation was measured by terminal degree status: one had the B.A. degree, 22 had "some graduate credits," 14 had the M.A. degree, and 10 had post-M.A. credits. The number of years of teaching experience ranged from 2 to 30 with the mean at 10.0 years.

Procedures for Obtaining Teacher Subjects

Teacher subjects were drawn from five college settings ($N = 37$) and three elementary schools ($N = 10$). The five universities contributed 15, 12, 5, 3, and 2 subjects, respectively; the three elementary schools were sampled for one, three, and six subjects, respectively.

Subjects were approached through three kinds of contacts: (1) several cooperating professors at the five colleges who allowed us to seek volunteers from their courses; (2) one cooperating school principal who allowed us to seek volunteers from her teaching staff; and (3) two subjects who, after being interviewed, referred us to several teachers in their elementary schools.

At the colleges, the investigators addressed several graduate education classes, introducing the teachers to the study, inviting their participation, and offering a fee of \$3.00 to those who volunteered. Then "teacher information" sheets were distributed to those interested in participating as subjects. The information sheets were screened against several criteria to select a final roster of those who were actually interviewed. The criteria used to select interviewees were based on approximating the characteristics of the child subjects' teachers and schools. The critical characteristics were: geographic location (suburban), educational approach (conventional or partly conventional), SES (middle class student body), grade level (second, fourth, and sixth grades), and degree of teacher specialization (homeroom, regular classroom teachers).

Those subjects contacted through other subjects and the elementary school principal were also selected on the basis of the same criteria. Permission was gained from the principals of all school-based subjects to interview them in a private room in their respective schools. Subjects solicited at college settings were also interviewed in private rooms on the premises of their respective colleges.

The interviews were conducted by three researchers: the principal investigator and two research assistants. The principal investigator interviewed 25 subjects (second grade $N = 11$, fourth grade $N = 9$, sixth grade

N = 5); the first research assistant interviewed 8 teachers (second grade N = 1, fourth grade N = 2, sixth grade N = 5); and the second research assistant interviewed 14 teachers (second grade N = 5, fourth grade N = 4, sixth grade N = 5).

Ethical Considerations

As with child subjects, each teacher subject was explicitly assured that their communication would remain privileged and that their identities would remain anonymous. As far as can be determined, anonymity and the privileged nature of communication have been preserved throughout and subsequent to the conduct of the study.

Interview Procedure

Child interviews were conducted individually by the principal investigator and a research assistant in the schools. The size of the interview room varied considerably from school to school and, when both interviewers simultaneously worked at the same school, within schools as well. However, every room used had at least two chairs, a desk or table, and a door for privacy. The child interviews were tape recorded on portable audio cassette recorders with external microphones.

Inspection of the Child Interview Form in Appendix A shows that questions were phrased so as to evoke two kinds of response:

1. Questions directed to the child's perceptions of the "way things are" and the "way things ought to be" evoked short answer responses, usually a direct "yes" or "no."
2. A number of items also included "why" questions. These yielded children's rationales or justifications for their responses to the questions described in #1 above.

The "short answer" responses to the first kind of question were written directly on each subject's interview form during the course of the interview. The "long answer" responses to the second kind of question were tape recorded. (The findings presented in this report are based entirely on the short answer data, while the children's rationales, currently stored on tape, remain to be analyzed at a later time.)

Prior to the start of the interview, the interviewer established rapport with the child by explaining what the interview was about and engaging in other spontaneous conversation. Two points were always made explicitly before the interview proper. First, each child was explicitly assured that his or her communication was absolutely privileged and would never be transmitted to teachers, principles, parents, or classmates. This assurance was given graphically, e.g., "You see this tape . . . when I leave here today this tape goes with me and it will never come back to this school" Second, each child was assured that there were no right or wrong answers to any of the questions, but that we were interested in the child's own answers, that we wanted to know how he or she felt about the topics under discussion. The interview itself began with collecting demographic data on the subjects. After collecting demographic information, the interviewer played back the tape to show subjects how they sounded and to check the equipment. This playback was usually enjoyed by the subjects--it helped to make the interview seem more "real" and the subjects, hearing their voice on tape, to feel more important.

The interviewer then began the interview by asking the questions from the interview form and recording the "short answer" responses directly onto the form. In this way, the researchers had a hard copy of each interview as well as a taped copy. This procedure proved useful in several ways during

the interview, as well as after the session. During the interview the investigators could refer to numbered items to be sure all items were covered. Also, the interviewer had to record scorable responses on the spot, keeping himself or herself alert for unscorable responses. After the interview, the interviewers could score the hard copy directly without transcribing or listening to the tapes. This procedure saved scoring time. If and when the written responses on the interview forms were ambiguous or missing, the investigators could check the written record against the audio tape. Since the "long answer" responses (children's justifications and rationales) were not analyzed for the present report, there was no need to transcribe long answers from the audio tape. The benefits of the dual recording system, in summary, were its efficiency in scoring and its tendency to keep the interview on task.

Teacher interviews were essentially parallel to the child interviews, using parallel procedures and parallel items (with a few exceptions). However, there were three major differences between child and teacher interviews:

1. Questions on the child interview were directed to the child's perception of his or her status in school. Questions on the teacher interview were also directed to the teacher's perception of the child's status in school. They were not directed to the teacher's perception of the teacher's status (see Teacher Interview in Appendix A). Thus, the phenomenal connotation of the interviews probably differed somewhat, as the child's focus was directed on himself while the teacher's focus was directed on another person (i.e., the child).

2. Unlike the child subjects, teachers were not asked "why" questions. Thus, there was no need to tape record their interviews, and their interviews did not take as long as the child interviews.
3. Teachers were told beforehand that they would be paid \$3.00 for volunteering as subjects. Child subjects were offered no material incentives.

Despite these differences in procedure and item formation, we think the teacher and child data are comparable in most important respects. The comparability of teacher and child responses is based on the fact that the questions were directed to recurring events that are equally familiar to both kinds of subjects, although, obviously, from rather different perspectives. Questioning teachers and children about, for example, classroom rules and homework assignments, is to ask them about shared realities which, collectively, organize their common social lives in the school. The rationale underlying selection of interview items is discussed in the next section.

Interview Rationale

The basic question asked by this study is: To what degree do children perceive the everyday social conventions of school life as constraining or allowing the expression of prerogatives? Although the study was exploratory in nature, some rationale was necessary for the intelligent selection of social conventions to be explored. Of the universe of school conventions, only a finite sample could be selected for translation into interview items. It was desirable that the sample of conventions be representative of the basic dimensions of social life in the school and be sufficiently problematic to engage the interest of subjects.

The thinking of Aberle (1961) and Inkeles (1968, 1969) on the structure and scope of socialization provided us with the rationale we needed. Any adequate examination of how children relate to social conventions must be grounded in a systematic and coherent appreciation of the "social structural features" of a given society. Social structural features are the recurrent themes or patterned modes of action which exist in social life. Collectively these themes represent the core of the social system and serve as public signals to individuals for the adaptive organization of their social lives. The basic features of the social world identified by Inkeles and Aberle are categorized as economic, ecological, political, and cultural. Since the school is a subsystem of the larger society and a primary arm of its socialization program, it makes sense to view the social life of the school as constituted of transformations of these several features. Although it is outside the scope of this study to include economic features, we have adopted the ecological, political, and cultural features. Our use of these three themes is neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, but they provide a workable and theoretically defensible basis for identifying

a set of school conventions for examination. The conventions addressed in the present study are subsumable under one or more of these three themes. Since the themes are broadly inclusive, using them as guides enhances the representativeness of our sample of conventions. Moreover, since the themes are basic organizers of human sociality, they are likely to denote problematic conventions, i.e., those which pose dilemmas to children in their construction of their own social competencies and values. Interview items with this quality are, in turn, likely to engage children's interest, thus satisfying our requirement that items be both representative and problematic.

Ecological themes refer, among other things, to the amount of space available to an individual and his degree of mobility. In the present study ecological features were represented in the Territorial and Privacy Domains. These domains raise ecological questions such as:

1. When you are in the classroom, do you have enough space, you know, enough room for yourself? (space)
2. Does the teacher ever look in your notebook without your permission? (privacy)
3. Can you get up and walk around the classroom anytime you want to? (mobility)

Political features look at the institutional arrangements for generating, legitimizing, and exercising power. In the present study political themes were explored in the Domains of Instructional and Socialization Decision Making. Instructional Decision Making items ask who has the legitimate authority to assign homework, decide what schoolwork is done in class, etc., and whether this power can be shared, e.g., "Do you help to decide how much homework you do?" Socialization Decision Making items examine the locus of legitimate authority with respect to generating and implementing classroom

rules. This domain explores the notion of collaborative rule making and sanction making arrangements by asking, for example, "Do you help to decide what your classroom rules are Do you help to decide what happens when you break a rule, you know, you and the teacher together?"

Cultural Themes refer to the values the school maintains, such as how responsive and just the classroom climate is. They also refer to the meaning systems the school generates with respect to routines, such as leaving for the bathroom, seating arrangements, etc. These themes are incorporated in the Custodial Decision Making Domain and in the several value oriented variables, e.g., the school as an important, just, responsive, liked, and safe environment. Custodial Decision Making items examine "housekeeping" issues, such as seating arrangements and classroom routines, for the possible conflict or convergence between the teacher's need to maintain order and the child's need to express or assert competence. The value oriented items (see next section for description of items) evaluate the classroom culture with respect to its responsiveness (e.g., "Does the teacher say it's good when you do good work in school?"), importance (e.g., "Do you think you should go to school on every school day?"), justice (e.g. "Are the rules in your school fair?"), and so forth.

The findings of the present study were not organized in terms of these themes. The notion of "social structural features" was used only as a framework to guide the selection of school based social conventions which, in turn, have been grouped into ten domains and/or variables (see following sections on Instrument Construction and Variable Formation). The findings of the study are presented in terms of these variables.

Instrument Construction

The interview incorporated two kinds of items: Competence oriented and value oriented items. Examples of each are:

1. Competence oriented items:

- A. Can you take your chair and move it anywhere in the classroom or do you have to keep it in one place?

Do you think this is the way it should be?

- B. When you have finished your work in class, can you decide what to do next?

Do you think you should have a say about this?

2. Value oriented items:

- A. Are you and the other kids ever friendly with the teachers, you know, joke with them a little or have fun with them?

Do you think this is the way it should be?

- B. Are the boys and the girls treated the same in your school?

Do you think boys and girls should be treated the same in school?

The first kind of item was designed to tap the child's emerging sense of his or her own competence, that is, what the child sees himself as able and willing to do for himself or jointly with the teacher. For the purpose of this study, competence was defined as the child's subjective sense of having or meriting initiative in selected areas of everyday functioning. Thus, if a subject responded, for example, that he could and should have a say in what he does after finishing his classwork, this was regarded as an expression of competence on his part (see item #1B above).

The second kind of item addressed selected values the child may hold and whether or not she perceives them as being held by the school. Thus,

item #2A above assesses the degree to which the subject held cross-status friendliness as a value and whether she perceived the school as a setting where this value was expressed. Item #2B above tapped subjects' values about equality of the sexes and whether sex equality was fostered, in their opinion, by the school.

Obviously, the conceptual boundary between competence and value items is somewhat fuzzy. The competence items in particular could be interpreted as raising value questions. The basic distinction between the two kinds of items is that competence questions are oriented toward overt actions while the value questions are oriented toward beliefs or opinions. For example, to respond negatively to a competence question is to acknowledge a constraint on what one can do in school, while a negative response to a value question indicates that the school is not perceived as supportive of what one believes to be right or appropriate. Thus, while the competence questions have value connotations, the connotations are not addressed directly, but are addressed only as they effect the child's perceived capacity to act or not act, e.g., to move his chair or to be constrained from doing so, to decide what to do next or to be constrained from deciding (see items # 1A and 1B above).

The items in both child and teacher interviews constituted a sample of the universe of recurring aspects of school life (described above as "social structural features") where tension or satisfaction is likely to be felt. It was assumed that events related to the expression of competence and values would be sufficiently charged with emotional and/or cognitive energy that one's experience of such events in the school setting would lead cumulatively to feelings of tension or a sense of satisfaction with the school. Satisfaction would ensue when children perceived the school as a

setting which allowed or encouraged the expression of competence and/or supported their values. Tension would result when children perceived the school as constraining expression of competence or going counter to their values.

The major part of the interview was made up of items addressed to five domains of personal competence: territoriality, privacy, custodial decision making, socialization decision making, and instructional decision making. These five variables (or domains of experience) were the heart of the present study, which had as its primary objective the study of prerogatives and constraints experienced by children in elementary schools.

A more modest part of the interview was made up of value oriented items, i.e., those addressed to the school as a responsive environment, the school as a just environment, the school as a safe environment, liking school, and the school as an "important" environment. Several of the items in this part of the interview were suggested by the NIE Violent Schools--Safe Schools study (1978) as covariants with school violence, e.g., friendly relations between students and school staff (see item # 2A above), and students' perceptions of the consistency and fairness of sanctions. Essentially this part of the interview allowed subjects to evaluate several intangible (as opposed to physical) dimensions of the school environment. The reason for including this secondary focus in the interview was to find out if children see the value and competence dimensions of schooling as independent or non-independent. It may be, for example, that children would perceive school as constraining of their competence, but supportive of their values. In fact the findings of the present study fit this pattern, thus suggesting a basis for children's legendary ambivalent feelings about

school. These results and interpretations are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Adaptation of the Classroom Environment Scale

In addition to competence and value items, child subjects (not teacher subjects) were asked to respond to a modified version of Trickett and Moos' Classroom Environment Scale (Trickett & Moos, 1973; Moos & Moos, 1978; Moos 1978). The CES is a group administered questionnaire, consisting of 90 true-false items which make up nine subscales, each designed to assess a particular dimension of classroom climate. To date it has been used exclusively with secondary school subjects. In the present study, the CES was adapted in several ways. The nine subscales were collapsed into four categories: Interpersonal Relations, Goal Orientation, System Maintenance, and System Change, consisting of six, four, six, and four items, respectively. It was individually administered to elementary school children as a set of 20 interview questions. We had a particular interest in the System Maintenance category, as this consisted of items about rule clarity, stability, and enforcement, a cluster of factors identified as covariants of school disruption in the NIE Violent Schools-Safe Schools study (1978, pp. 133-134). It was expected that children with high scores on this category would tend to have low tension scores, as yielded by analyses of the competence and value domains.

It should be mentioned that the CES is a finely tuned instrument which has undergone extensive standardization over a several year period. Our "adaptation" was ad hoc and entirely unstandardized. Accordingly, our expectations of the modified CES described here were modest at best and entirely in the spirit of the exploratory nature of the present study (see last page of Child Interview in Appendix A).

Teacher Self Rating Scale

Teacher subjects were not given the Modified CES. Instead, they were given a set of five point scales on which they could rate the degree of importance they attributed to classroom control, new classroom projects, giving students emotional support, having a quiet classroom, and strict enforcement of rules. Finally, they were asked to identify their "general approach" to teaching as structured or open-ended (see last page of Teacher Interview in Appendix A). These self ratings were collected to see if they were related to teachers' scores on the competence and value domains of the interview. Again, this aspect of the interview was exploratory and no substantial expectations were held beforehand.

Scoring Procedures

Two scoring systems were used in the present study, one for the competence oriented items and one for the value oriented items. The more complex of the two systems applied to the Competence items and is presented first. The other scoring system is presented subsequently.

The competence oriented items consisted of yoked pairs of questions which followed a standard format. The first question in each pair asked for subjects' perceptions of the way things "actually are," while the second question was addressed to their perceptions of the way things "ought to be." for example, consider the following yoked pair of questions:

Do you decide with the teacher where you sit in class?

Should you have a say about this?

The intent of this item is to find out, first, whether the child perceives himself as exercising this decision making prerogative in school and, second, whether he asserts that he ought to have this prerogative. There are four possible combinations of response to this item:

1. The subject may respond negatively to both questions, that is, he does not perceive himself as having a say in this decision, nor does he think he merits a voice in the matter. This hypothetical subject perceives himself as constrained from deciding on his seat in class and thinks that he ought to be constrained in this respect. These responses are termed "Felt Constraint" and "Normative Constraint," respectively, and would be scored as "CC," the first C referring to the subject's "felt" status and the second to his "normative" status, indicating no perceived tension in this area and, perhaps, suggesting satisfaction with the way things are.

2. A subject may respond positively to both questions, that is, she may perceive herself as having a say in this decision and may assert that she ought to have a say about where she sits. This hypothetical subject both perceives and asserts a prerogative with respect to this decision. Her responses are termed "Felt Prerogative" and "Normative Prerogative," and would be scored "PP," the first P referring to her "felt" status and the second to her "normative" status. Like the CC response above, the PP response is congruent, indicating the absence of tension or the presence of satisfaction in this area. The difference between the two patterns, of course, is that the first indicates congruent incompetence (or indifference) while the second indicates congruent competence. Thus, the two patterns, while similarly congruent, say very different things about how these two hypothetical children perceive themselves and their schools with respect to this recurring event.

3. A subject may respond negatively to the first question and positively to the second, yielding a "CP" score, i.e., a Felt Constraint yoked with a Normative Prerogative. This pattern indicates a discrepancy between the child's perception of what is and what ought to be in school, unlike

the congruent CC and PP patterns illustrated above. This hypothetical subject asserts a prerogative which she does not perceive as recognized by the teacher, indicating that her sense of competence in this area is constrained. (That is, the child perceives herself as constrained. Whether or not the child's perception corresponds to actual classroom practice is irrelevant to the phenomenal reality she has constructed with respect to seating decisions.) This discrepant CP pattern may be diagnostic of tension in this area--it certainly does not suggest satisfaction.

4. Finally, a subject may respond positively to the first question and negatively to the second, yielding a "PC" score, consisting of a Felt Prerogative and a Normative Constraint. Like the CP pattern above, this is also discrepant, but in the opposite direction. In this pattern the subject perceives himself as enjoying a prerogative that he does not think he should have. Although, as might be expected, this pattern does not occur frequently (children are reluctant to relinquish Felt Prerogatives), it does occur occasionally, and indicates a failure in correspondance between what the school offers (or requires) and what the child is prepared to accept as a prerogative. In this sense it may be diagnostic of tension between children and their schools, although probably not to the same degree as the CP response pattern.

This scoring system is amenable to several kinds of analysis. For example, it allows for a Congruence-Discrepance analysis, in which subjects' CC and PP responses are combined and compared with their combined CP and PC responses. If $CC + PP$ were greater than $CP + PC$ in a given domain of experience, this would indicate a net congruence between children's Felt and Normative status, in turn suggesting a relative lack of tension or a relative

presence of satisfaction felt by the children with respect to that domain. The opposite finding would indicate the reverse, i.e., that children were, on balance, dissatisfied with a given domain of experience in school. The greater the degree of discrepance over congruence, the greater the tension children would presumably feel with respect to the domain in question. Chapter 4 describes this analysis, as well as three other types of analysis, in greater detail. The four analyses are simply listed here:

1. Congruence-Discrepance Analysis (CC + PP vs. CP + PC)
2. Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis (PP + PC vs. CC + CP)
3. Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis (PP + CP vs. CC + PC)
4. Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis (PP + PC vs. PP + CP)

Scoring Value Oriented Items

As mentioned above, the value oriented items were not amenable to a prerogative-constraint type of scoring or analysis. They were simply scored as positive or negative evaluations of the school. Thus, if a subject, in response to item #2B above, said that boys and girls were not treated the same in school, this was scored as a negative evaluation. Responding that boys and girls were treated the same was given a positive score. Being friendly with teachers (item #2A above) was scored positively, while not being friendly with teachers was assigned a negative score. Obviously, the criteria for evaluating responses as negative or positive reflect the bias of the investigators. Our bias was that schools which are perceived by children as friendly, responsive, fair, liked, important, etc. were places

where positive values were upheld, while the converse perceptions amounted to a negative commentary on the school. As a check on our bias, we gave the children the opportunity to articulate their biases on seven of the value questions. Thus, for example, after being asked whether boys and girls were treated the same in school, subjects were asked whether they should be treated the same (item #2B above). In the overwhelming majority of cases subjects' answers to these "should" questions indicated their biases were the same as the investigators' bias. The 154 child subjects had 1078 opportunities to either confirm or disconfirm the investigators' values and they gave confirming responses 1057 times, indicating a 98.1% correspondence between subjects' and investigators' biases.

Variable Formation

As mentioned earlier (see Interview Rationale), the selection of social conventions for the present study was guided by the degree to which they were representative of the ecological, political, and cultural features of social life in the school. Each social convention was then translated into an interview item. Interview items, in turn, were grouped into variables or domains of experience. The grouping was not done on an empirical basis, e.g., factor analysis; rather, items were grouped on a logical basis, i.e., in terms of clusters suggested by the inherent meanings of items and inherent relationships presumed to exist among them. (It would be interesting to do a post hoc factor analysis to see if our logical clusters correspond to the psycho-logic implicit in subject's empirical groupings. However, that would be beyond the scope of this exploratory study).

There were five competence oriented variables (called "domains of experience") and five value oriented variables in the present study. The

distinction between these two kinds of variables roughly corresponds to the distinction made earlier between competence and value oriented items. Briefly, competence oriented variables or domains describe conventions which determine what a child can or cannot do in school, thus allowing or constraining the expression of prerogatives. These variables focus on the child's actions in school. Value oriented variables describe how children evaluate salient, but intangible aspects of the school environment, such as justice, safety, responsiveness, etc. They focus less on the child's actions and more on what children believe to be right or appropriate about school.

The variables are defined below. The interview items making up each variable are listed in Table 1 and can be found in Appendix A. It should be noted that, although we often discuss these variables as though they were descriptive of actual classroom conventions, in fact they are summaries of children's and teachers' perceptions of conventions. They refer to phenomenal realities and in no way pretend to be descriptive of "objective" reality.

1. Territoriality refers to the amount of classroom space allotted to each child and the degree of territorial mobility customary in the classroom and school.
2. Privacy refers to the availability of personal space and time in a setting which is otherwise highly public and communal.
3. Custodial Decision Making refers to the degree to which children are viewed as participating in everyday decisions about house-keeping or logistical routines and arrangements, e.g., where the child sits in class, what procedures are adopted for going to the bathroom, etc.

Table 1
Interview Items Constituting Variables
and/or Domains

Variable/Domain	Child Interview Items ^a	Teacher Interview Items ^b
1. Territoriality	# 1, 5, 6, 7	# 1, 5, 6, 7
2. Privacy	# 2, 3, 4	# 2, 3, 4
3. Custodial Decision Making	# 8, 9, 10, 11	# 8, 9, 10, 11
4. Instructional Decision Making	# 12, 13, 15, 16	# 12, 13, 15, 16
5. Socialization Decision Making	# 17, 18, 19	#17, 18, 19
6. Responsive Environment	# 20, 21, 22, 23	not a variable for teachers
7. Important Environment	# 24, 27	# 27
8. Liked Environment	# 25, 26	# 25, 26
9. Just Environment	# 28, 29, 30, 31	# 28, 29, 30, 31
10. Safe Environment	# 36, 37, 38, 39, 40	# 36, 37, 38, 39, 40

^aSee Child Interview Form, Appendix A

^bSee Teacher Interview Form, Appendix A

4. Instructional Decision Making refers to participation in decisions of a specifically curricular or pedagogical nature, e.g., how much math and reading is done in class, what is assigned for homework, etc.
5. Socialization Decision Making refers to participation in decisions about the governance and value structure of the classroom, e.g., how classroom rules are arrived at, who adjudicates rule violation, centralization vs. decentralization of decision making power, etc.
6. Responsive Environment refers to whether the school is perceived as responsive to the child's needs for constructive reinforcement, feedback, and friendliness.
7. Important Environment refers to whether the school and school subjects are perceived by children as important and/or relevant to their lives.
8. Liked Environment refers to whether children report themselves or are perceived by teachers as generally liking or disliking school.
9. Just Environment refers to whether the school is perceived as a place where rules and punishments are fair and children's grievances are heard.
10. Safe Environment refers to whether the school is seen as a safe or dangerous place for the child's person and possessions.

Reliability

Since children and teachers were not interviewed more than once, there was no opportunity for "test-retest" reliability analysis. Moreover, since the interview itself was not a standardized instrument (nor does it aspire to that status), any attempt to establish "split half" reliability seemed inappropriate. Thus, it is unknown whether subjects would respond reliably to the separate items in the interview. For child subjects, this is not considered a major weakness of the study, since children's opinions tend to be generally unstable and it was their opinions which were the object of investigation. Since the size of the child sample was fairly large ($N = 154$), it is arguable that, in the hypothetical event of subsequent interviews with the same subjects, fluctuations in some children's responses would be randomly counterbalanced by oppositely directed fluctuations in other children's responses. Thus, while the response pattern of any individual child may vary somewhat over repeated interviews, the response pattern of groups of children would tend to vary considerably less, whether children be grouped by grade level, sex, SES, etc.

The same argument does not hold to the same degree for teacher subjects, since the teacher sample was not large ($N = 47$). However, we suspect that teacher responses to the interview would not fluctuate nearly as much as children's responses over repeated exposures, since teacher opinions about their professional activities are probably more stable. In any event we cannot make claims regarding the inherent reliability of the interview as a research instrument. However, we are prepared to argue that, due to the

child sample size and the professionalization of the teachers, our failure to build in a reliability check is not necessarily a major weakness in this study.

There were two attempts to check the reliability of scoring protocols and coding data sheets, thus affording a somewhat watered down version of "inter-rater" reliability. The investigators independently scored 520 children's interview items and disagreed on only 8 scores, yielding an overall agreement rate of 98.5%. It should be mentioned that, because of the phrasing of items, scoring was not an automatic process. Many responses to the second question in yoked pairs, for example, were interpretable only in terms of the child's response to the first question in the same pair. Thus, there was some judgment involved in scoring.

For teacher subjects, two investigators independently scored nine protocols done by the third interviewer. Of 252 items, there were no disagreements, yielding an agreement rate of 100%.

Coding data sheets involved translating scores into codes and inserting them in the proper cells of 80 column FORTRAN coding forms. Of 5,677 scores independently coded and entered by the two investigators, there were only nine disagreements, yielding an agreement rate of 99.8%

Validity

Two kinds of external validity were built into the present study: face validity and criterion validity. Four criteria were used to guide the construction and presentation of interview items, thus enhancing their face validity:

1. Item content was natural and familiar to children. It was drawn from their world, not from the adult sphere of

schooling. For example, questions incorporated content like homework and classroom rules, and avoided issues of primary interest to adults, e.g., school finance and the principle of in loco parentis.

2. Item content was concrete and denotable. The focus was on actions and events themselves, not on abstractions. Items did not focus, for example, on the nature of privacy or fairness, but on whether subjects thought they had privacy or felt rules were fair, etc.
3. Items were real life oriented, not hypothetical. Questions were in the indicative (as opposed to subjunctive) mood, thus directing subjects' responses to their actual experience and their actual values, not to possible experience or suppositional values. (There were one or two exceptions to this criterion, e.g., item #26 on both interview forms).
4. Items referred to public, not to private events. That is, items were specifically social in nature, referring to recurring events that were part of the shared experience of teachers and children. (Again, there were one or two exceptions to this rule, e.g., item #25.)

Finally, 23 of the items in the child interview allowed for probes to see if subjects' responses held up under further questioning. This was not a "stress" interview, but the "why" questions required that children reflect upon and justify their responses, thus increasing the probability that their responses validly reflected their perceptions. The face validity built into questions by these criteria were designed to bring children's verbal

reports into approximate correspondence with their actual phenomenal model of school conventions. Items with familiar, concrete, real life, public content are presumably less likely to evoke fabricated phenomenal models than are items with unfamiliar, abstract, hypothetical, and private content. Moreover, the entire set of the interview, from start to finish, was explicitly directed away from a spirit of "right" and "wrong" answers, as subjects were reminded at the outset and from time to time during the interview that their "own" answers were the ones that counted, that we wanted to find out what they felt about life in the school.

The second kind of external validity used in this study was concurrent criterion validity. Unlike face validity which used "soft" means to enhance the connection between verbal reports generated in the study and subjects' phenomenal realities as they exist outside the study, criterion validity was based on correspondence between within study verbal reports and external "hard" realities that objectively characterized subjects. First, it was expected that, because of their larger size, increased social autonomy, and their greater familiarity with the school, children in high grades would assert more Normative Prerogatives than children in lower grades. The "hard" external reality here was chronological age. Analysis of their responses indicated that, as expected, upper grade children asserted more Normative Prerogatives than lower grade children at $F = 12.32$, $p = .000$. This indicated that children's verbal assertions of prerogatives as they occurred internal to the study, varied according to the hard index of chronological age, as it existed external to the study.

It was also expected that territoriality and privacy would be more problematic for children from large than from small families, and that

family size would not discriminate consistently on decision making variables. This expectation was based on our assumption that children from large families, a hard external criterion, would be particularly sensitized to issues of space and privacy, that their daily lives require coping with more people than do the lives of children from small families, and that living with more people makes privacy more problematic. Of course, these assumptions are based on a further assumption that all other things are equal. Despite the likelihood that other things are not equal, the expectation still seemed worth the risk, based on the hard external reality of different "body counts" in large and small families.

Although results do not strongly support this expectation, they lean in the expected direction. On Territoriality ($F = 3.24, p = .07$) children from large families were less congruent than children from small families. While this difference fell short of statistical significance, it clearly suggested that territoriality, being less congruent, was more problematic for children from larger families. The Felt Prerogatives vs. Felt Constraints analysis (described below in Chapter 4) yielded even more confirming results, although again they fell short of statistical significance. Children from large families felt more constrained on Territoriality ($F = 1.96, p = .16$) and Privacy ($F = 1.79, p = .18$); while children from small families felt more constrained on Instructional Decision Making ($F = 2.58, p = .11$). This consistent problematic pattern for large family subjects on territoriality and privacy, coupled with no consistent pattern on decision making variables (and even one finding in the opposite direction) combines convergent with discriminant validity. That is, it shows a statistically suggestive link between children's verbal reports on territoriality/privacy and the external criterion of large family size, as expected. Moreover,

it shows no link between verbal reports on decision making and the same external criterion, again as expected (see Sellitz, Wrightsman, & Cook, 1976, pp. 169-181).

It seems fair to conclude that these several analyses tend to confirm the external validity of the present study. As regards internal validity, we define this as the maintenance of logically and empirically sound connections among the several parts of the study such that the results at the end speak to the objectives at the beginning, i.e., that nothing internal to the study is disruptive of the case it purports to make. Twenty children's protocols were checked against their audio tapes to see if their responses were validly recorded on their interview forms. Of 589 items, only 11 errors were found, an error rate of 1.9%. This, as well as the several reliability checks cited above, indicates that errors were kept to a minimum at each point where data were transformed. The three transformations of children's verbal reports to written records on the interview form (error rate = 1.9%), of written records into scores (error rate = 1.5%), of scores into codes and coding entries (error rate = 0.2%) yielded acceptably low error rates. Thus, if one finds persuasive the argument and evidence presented above about the study's external validity, it does not seem that further leaps of faith are required to accept the study's internal validity. All things considered, the study appears to be fairly valid, perhaps remarkably so for an exploratory effort.

Chapter 3

TREATMENT OF DATA

Two kinds of test were used in the statistical analyses of data. Whenever the focus was on the average performance of groups of subjects (as opposed to how their scores were distributed), analysis of variance (F tests) and t tests were used. These central tendency tests are relatively robust to violations of their assumption about the underlying shape of distributions. Moreover, the transformation of subjects' scores into proportions ranging from +1.0000 to -1.0000 gave scores an approximation to continuous distribution, thus partially satisfying the ANOVA assumption that data be continuously distributed. These tests were the primary ones used in the present study. When the focus was on the pattern of subjects' scores, Chi-Square statistics were used to test for independence. For example, Chi-Square tests were used to determine whether SES level was independent of grade, whether birth order was independent of grade, whether the patterns of teachers' and children's performance on items were different, etc. In these latter cases the analytic questions were about the independence of group patterns, not the central tendencies of group performance.

Since this study was exploratory in nature, no formal predictions of relationships were made. Thus, all tests were two-tailed. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, there was no deliberate attempt to shape items or procedures so as to accentuate group differences or similarities. Accordingly, four probability levels were used for the purpose of detecting trends (or non-trends) of varying levels of confidence:

1. Probability levels of $p = .05$ and below were considered significant.
2. Probability levels of $p = .06$ to $.09$ were considered marginally significant.
3. Probability levels of $p = .10$ to $.19$ were viewed as indicative of trends.
4. Probability levels of $p = .20$ or above were considered indicative of no trend whatsoever.

Because of the large number of statistical tests used, it was expected that some apparently "significant" results would be specious, i.e., due to chance. Thus, every group of related analyses was first scanned for the incidence of probability levels at $p = .05$ and lower. If the incidence of low p levels was infrequent, as, for example, when variables and items were analyzed by child sex in the present study, then our judgment was to interpret as chance occurrences the relatively few statistical differences which emerged. If the incidence of low p levels was frequent, as with grade level in the present study, then the differences were interpreted as descriptive of a real pattern of relationships.

In any event, although "trends" and "marginally" significant differences are occasionally reported, our primary focus is on levels of probability at $p = .05$ and below. As it turned out, there were many such results, usually in the $p = .01$ to $.0001$ range, so there was no need to milk the data for weak trends. Highly significant results were in surprising abundance, especially for an exploratory study.

Proportional Transformation of Scores

For all central tendency tests (F tests and t tests), subjects' scores were transformed into proportions on a scale ranging from +1.0000 to -1.0000. For each test a positive value was assigned to one kind of score, a negative value to the opposite kind of score, and they were combined algebraically to yield a proportional estimate of each subject's performance (called an "adjusted score" for the sake of brevity). Consider, for example, the congruence-discrepancy analysis of the Custodial Decision Making variable. This variable consisted of four interview items, and congruent and discrepant scores were assigned positive and negative values, respectively. Thus, if a given subject scored CC, CC, PP, and CC on the four items (all congruent) he received a perfect positive score of +1.0000. If he gave four discrepant responses, his adjusted score would have been -1.0000. Three congruent and one discrepant response (e.g., CC, PP, CP, PP) would have yielded an adjusted score of .5000, two congruent and two discrepant responses an adjusted score of .0000, and so forth. A high positive adjusted score indicated a high degree of congruence, and vice versa. In the present study, for example, sixth grade teachers had a mean adjusted score of .6667 on this analysis, indicating their felt and normative perceptions were highly congruent in the Custodial Decision Making Domain. In fact, their score indicates that about 83% of their responses were congruent. Sixth grade children, on the other hand, had a mean adjusted score of .0769 on this analysis, showing considerably less congruence than sixth grade teachers. The children's adjusted mean score indicates that about 54% of their responses were congruent, i.e., that they were rather close to the discrepant range of scores.

The proportional transformations worked equally well for the value oriented variables. Positive values were assigned to subjects' positive evaluations of the school and negative values to their negative evaluations. Accordingly, children's mean adjusted score of .8571 on the Responsive Environment variable indicated they were very close to the ceiling (+1.0000) of the scoring range and that they perceived the school to be extremely responsive in a positive way. As an example of a negative evaluation, fourth grade children had a mean adjusted score of -.3462 on the theft item, indicating that about 67% of their responses marked the school as a place where things were stolen. Sixth grade children had a mean adjusted score of -.6154 on the theft item, indicating that about 81% of them saw the school as having theft.

In any event, the above illustrations are offered as aids to interpreting the many mean adjusted scores presented in the following chapter. Table 2 gives approximate translations of the full range of adjusted scores into simple percentages. Thus, an adjusted score of .8000 means that 90% of the responses making up that score were positive, while only 10% of responses were negative. It was reported above that children had a mean adjusted score of .8571 on the Responsive Environment variable. Entering Table 2 about one fourth of the distance between .8000 and 1.0000 indicates that about 92% of children's responses to the four items making up this variable were positive, and only 8% were negative. This table can be entered with any adjusted score cited in the present study in order to get approximate percentages of subjects' negative and positive responses.

For the sake of consistency in judging the significance of the many mean adjusted scores reported in the following chapter, the following convention is recommended to the reader:

1. scores between +.5000 and +1.0000 are designated as highly positive
2. scores from +.2000 to +.4999 are moderately positive
3. scores between .0000 and +.1999 are slightly positive
4. scores between .0000 and -.1999 are slightly negative
5. scores between -.2000 and -.4999 are moderately negative
6. scores between -.5000 and -1.0000 are highly negative.

It should be noted that this suggested convention is intuitively arrived at and is no way related to any inherent values in the reported group scores. Since the interview items were not standardized for "level of difficulty" or "stimulus value," responses to them are not comparable. Thus, it is not logical to speak of a given group of subjects as scoring higher, for example, on one item or variable than on another. It is logical, however, to compare the mean scores of two or more groups on the same item or variable; for example, to compare the reported perceptions of fourth and sixth grade children on the Theft item, as was done three paragraphs above. The alternative to the recommended convention would be to compare subjects' performance across variables in terms of the overall mean and standard deviation of each variable. While this latter course would be statistically more correct, it would make an already complex report more unreadable than it is. Thus, in the interest of preserving a modicum of clarity and simplicity in reporting, the above convention was adopted on an intuitive basis.

Table 2

Translating Mean Adjusted Scores into Percentages of
Positive and Negative Responses on a
Given Variable or Item^a

Mean Adjusted Score ^b	Percentage of Subjects' Responses Which Are:	
	Positive	Negative
1.0000	100%	0%
.8000	90%	10%
.6000	80%	20%
.4000	70%	30%
.2000	60%	40%
.0000	50%	50%
-.2000	40%	60%
-.4000	30%	70%
-.6000	20%	80%
-.8000	10%	90%
-1.0000	0%	100%

^aFor explanation of this table, with examples, see accompanying text.

^bThe assignment of positive and negative values is described in each Results section. For the most part, they are assigned "naturally," i.e., constraints, discrepancy, etc., are negative, while prerogatives, congruence, etc., are positive.

Chapter 4

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter is divided into four general sections as follows:

1. Analyses of developmental patterns of prerogatives and constraints in five domains of school experiences for child and teacher subjects.
2. Analyses by grade level of children's and teachers' evaluations of several aspects of the school environment.
3. Several analyses of child data by variables other than grade level.
4. Several analyses of teacher data by variables other than grade level.

The primary objective of the present study (Number 1 above) was to explore the developmental patterns of constraints and prerogatives experienced by children at three grade levels in several domains of everyday life in the typical American elementary school. Pursuant to this objective, interview items were designed and subjects were selected to yield four basic types of comparisons:

1. Responses indicating Constraint vs. responses indicating Prerogative.
2. Responses about one's "Felt Status" (i.e., the way things are) vs. responses about one's "Normative Status" (i.e., the way things should be).
3. Child vs. Teacher responses.
4. Responses given by child and teacher subjects at three elementary grade levels.

To illustrate how these comparisons were made, consider the following pair of questions taken from the interview:

Do you help decide how much homework you do?

Do you think you should help decide how much homework you do?

Negative answers to these questions indicate constraint, while positive responses indicate prerogative with respect to decisions about homework.

The first question elicits the subject's felt status, the second his normative status. Thus, if a child were to answer the first question negatively and the second positively, his responses would be scored as Felt Constraint (C) and Normative Prerogative (P), abbreviated as "CP." These questions yield four possible patterns of response: CP, CC, PP, and PC, the first letter in each pair indicating the child's felt status, and the second letter his normative status. The frequency of response patterns was compared for subjects drawn from second, fourth, and sixth grades to check for developmental trends through the elementary school years. Finally, teacher subjects were also asked a version of the same pair of questions:

Do your students have a say about how much homework is assigned?

Do you think the students should help to decide this?

These parallel questions yielded teachers' perceptions of the child's Felt and Normative Status with respect to homework decisions. Thus, in addition to analyzing teacher responses according to the comparisons described in numbers 1, 2, and 4 above, teacher responses were also comparable with child responses (number 3 above). The two pairs of questions presented as illustrations are prototypical of all questions about subjects' perceptions of constraints and prerogatives in the school. Each of these interview items consisted of a pair of yoked questions, the first addressed to the way things are in school (felt status), and the second to the way things ought to be (normative status). Because the questions followed a prototypical format, they were combinable in various ways, thus allowing for flexibility in making comparisons along the four comparative dimensions listed above.

Developmental Patterns of Prerogatives vs. Constraints
in Five Domains of School Experience

For the purpose of giving an overview of the developmental patterns of constraints and prerogatives perceived by elementary school children, all scores from the five domains of experience were pooled to form a summary developmental pattern.

Summary Developmental Pattern

Four standard analyses were done to highlight overall developmental patterns of constraints vs. prerogatives. Each analysis is presented and explained below.

Congruence vs. Discrepance. This analysis summarized the degree of congruence between subjects' Felt and Normative Status. Responses in which subjects' perceptions corresponded (those scored PP or CC) were designated congruent and assigned a positive value for the purpose of statistical analysis. Discrepant responses were those in which subjects' Felt Status differed from their Normative Status (i.e., those scored CP or PC). These were assigned a negative value. Combining negative and positive scores algebraically yielded a Congruence-Discrepance Index, such that positive sums indicated a preponderance of congruent scores and negative sums a net balance of discrepant scores.

In the present study children's and teachers' overall group means at each grade level were congruent. However, children's means fell in the moderately congruent range, while teacher means were significantly greater at each grade level and consistently in the highly congruent range (see t values in Table 3). Moreover, children's means were significantly less congruent at the sixth than at the second grade, while teachers' perceptions

Table 3

Summary Developmental Pattern

Congruence vs. Discrepance Analysis of Children's and
Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.4517	.3749	.2720	3.18	.04
Teacher Mean	.6580	.5852	.6593	0.75	.48
t	3.45	2.62	5.50		
p	.001	.01	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .3651

Teacher Mean = .6508

F = 23.30, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net congruence

Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net discrepance

tended to be uniformly congruent across grade levels (see F values in Table 3). These results indicate that children experience a decreasing correspondence between their actual and normative status with grade, while teachers see children's status as consistently and highly congruent at all grade levels. Thus, while children's perceptions incorporate more discrepancy over grades, teachers' perceptions show no recognition of this change in children's perceptions. To the degree that tension is associated with discrepancy between one's lot, one's ideals, and the views of significant adults to whom one is accountable, the implications of these trends are clear. These trends trace the potentially most volatile combination in school, a sort of "double divergence effect." Children's felt perceptions diverge incrementally from their normative perceptions over grade and there is a concomitant divergence over grades between teacher and child perceptions. It should be noted, however, that both trends occur within a congruent context, thus softening this conclusion somewhat. The volatile double divergence effect has more directional potential than reported reality, since the children's mean adjusted scores did not tip into the negative (i.e., net discrepant) range on this summary analysis (see Table 3). It would be interesting to follow child and teacher subjects into higher grades to see if these divergent trends continued. If they did continue, particularly if children's scores were to dip into the net discrepant range, one might want to speculate that the acting out behavior common in the secondary grades is partially a function of the underlying tension associated with these trends.

Felt Prerogatives vs. Felt Constraints. This analysis summarized subjects' perception of Felt Constraints relative to Felt Prerogatives. Felt

Constraints referred to constraints subjects report themselves as actually feeling or experiencing in school (i.e., responses scored CP or CC) and Felt Prerogatives referred to prerogatives subjects say they feel or enjoy in school (i.e., responses scored PP or PC). Assigning negative values to Felt Constraints, positive values to Felt Prerogatives, and combining them algebraically yielded an index of Felt C relative to Felt P. Negative indices would indicate a preponderance of Felt C while positive indices would indicate relatively more Felt P on a given variable or cluster of variables.

Inspection of Table 4 clearly indicates that children saw themselves as significantly more constrained than teachers did. The children's Summary Index was in the moderately constrained range, while teachers' Summary Index was slightly into the Prerogative range, yielding an extremely high $F = 100.78$, $p = .000$. Table 4 also shows that children felt significantly less constrained over grade, particularly between second and fourth grade ($F = 4.39$, $p = .01$), while teachers perceptions were fairly constant over grade. This latter finding means that children see themselves as gaining a significant degree of prerogative in school by the fourth grade, but remaining overall in a constraining pattern. It makes sense that, as children mature into the folkways of the school, they would find "loop-holes" and options not noticed by second graders. But their perceptions apparently do not interface with the balanced menu of constraints and prerogatives offered by teachers. Somehow teachers are not successfully communicating to children what their prerogatives are, while all too successfully communicating what their constraints are. This finding is consistent with conclusions drawn by Cussen (1977) and Wolfson and Nash (1968).

Table 4

Summary Developmental Pattern

Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.4464	-.3121	-.3210	4.39	.01
Teacher Mean	.0896	-.0222	.0963	1.28	.29
t	10.35	3.99	4.71		
p	.000	.000	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = -.3590

Teacher Mean = .0561

F = 100.78, p = .000

Teacher-Child x Grade Level Interaction: F = 2.95, p = .05

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Prerogative

Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Constraint

Normative Prerogatives vs. Normative Constraints

This analysis follows a logic and scoring procedure parallel to the previous one, except that the focus here is on those constraints and prerogatives children and teachers think children ought to have (rather than those seen as actually in existence). This analysis of Normative Prerogatives (responses scored PP or CP) relative to Normative Constraints (responses scored CC or PC) complements the previous analysis, each analysis focusing, as it were, on opposite sides of the same coin.

As shown in Table 5, teachers and children see children as meriting more normative prerogatives than constraints in school, a pattern which differs somewhat from teachers' perceptions and markedly from children's perceptions of their Felt status. Somewhat surprisingly, teachers see children as meriting more prerogatives than children themselves assert ($F = 14.42, p = .000$).

However, the developmental pattern of children's and teachers' indices indicate that by sixth grade children's perceptions of Normative Prerogatives are statistically indistinguishable from teachers' perceptions. Children at higher grades assert more prerogatives while teacher means remain more or less constant over the three grades (see Table 5). This stepwise approximation of children's to teachers' scores was marked enough to yield a significant Teacher-Child x Grade Level interaction of $F = 3.35, p = .04$ on the Summary Index.

One interpretation of these trends is that children spontaneously view themselves as meriting more prerogatives in school as they grow older and become more autonomous. On the face of it this interpretation would seem to account for at least part of the variance. A second interpretation would focus on the interaction between children and teachers in school. The stepwise approximation of children's lower mean scores to teachers'

Table 5

Summary Developmental Pattern

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.0063	.2093	.3307	12.32	.000
Teacher Mean	.3909	.3630	.3926	0.06	.94
t	4.31	1.60	0.62		
p	.000	.11	.54		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .1779

Teacher Mean = .3825

F = 14.42, p = .000

Teacher-Child x Grade Level Interaction: F = 3.35, p = .04

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative
Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Constraint

higher mean scores suggests that teachers may be "pulling" children into stronger expectations of Normative Prerogatives. This would be a classic "socialization effect," in which teachers are the agents and children the recipients of socialization messages in an ongoing interaction. This interpretation also helps to explain the teacher-child discrepancy in felt perceptions noted at the end of the previous section. It was concluded there that teachers more successfully communicate actual constraints than actual prerogatives to children. Juxtaposing these two sets of findings suggests that while teachers communicate constraints as operating guidelines for behavior, they communicate prerogatives as normative ideals, more to be contemplated and aspired to than translated into everyday action. Thus the apparent confusion between teachers' and children's perceptions about the balance between felt constraints and prerogatives may be a function less of gross miscommunication and more of how children interpret shadings of meaning in teachers' communications about prerogatives. Is this attributable to a reticence of children to take behavioral advantage of offered prerogatives or to a reticence of teachers to offer prerogatives as practical (rather than hypothetical) options in the school setting? It is probably attributable to both factors and the socialization effect noted above suggests that the reticence of children is a product of the teacher's reticence, rather than vice versa. Thus there may be two parallel lines of socialization occurring in the school, a socialization of constraints which applies to the real order, i.e., the way things are in the school, and a socialization to prerogatives, which applies to the normative order, i.e., the way things would be in school if we lived in the best of all possible worlds. This double socialization track may be viewed as a reasonable compromise which

simultaneously recognizes the institutional realities of schooling as it exists and the American cultural ideals of autonomy, competence, and individual initiative. It does tend to institutionalize, however, a split between the real and the normative, a bifurcation which children may find as inevitable or acceptable as adults do.

Felt Prerogatives vs. Normative Prerogatives

This analysis is designed to answer the question: Of all the prerogatives children report, what is the ratio between those they see themselves as enjoying (Felt P) and those they think they ought to have (Normative P)? If the ratio indicated net Felt P, this would mean that children enjoy more prerogatives than they think they ought to have; if the ratio indicated the opposite, this would mean children experience prerogatives more as ideals than as real behavioral options. If the two kinds of prerogatives were more or less in balance, this would mean that the prerogatives children report themselves as having would be in line with those they think they merit. These three possible outcomes, of course, also apply to teachers' perceptions of children's Felt and Normative Prerogatives.

On the summary index (see Table 6) children's reports fit the second pattern above, i.e., prerogatives existed more as ideals than as realities in their day to day lives in school. In principle, there is nothing remarkable about this pattern, as people often aspire to more prerogatives in life than they actually have. The pattern, however, can become problematic under two conditions. When the aspiration level greatly exceeds what is allowed in reality, then reality may be viewed as unacceptably constraining. The summary index shows that about 65% of the prerogatives reported by children were normative and 35% were actual (see translation chart on page 44). This ratio of about two Normative Prerogatives to every

Table 6

Summary Developmental Pattern

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of Children's
and Teachers Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.2656	.2734	.3357	1.84	.16
Teacher Mean	.1218	.1664	.1196	1.59	.21
t	4.31	2.88	6.16		
p	.000	.006	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .2916

Teacher Mean = .1353

F = 25.90, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Prerogative

Felt Prerogative may or may not be interpreted as unacceptable by school children, but it ought to give the professional educator some pause. It should be mentioned that, while this ratio may be noteworthy in its own right, it summarizes a set of more specific findings that vary greatly in the ratio of Felt to Normative Prerogatives. Thus, for example, children see Felt and Normative P in approximate balance in the Privacy Domain and as way out of balance in the Instructional Decision Making Domain (see analyses in following sections). The latter domain, then, might be viewed as a specific area for remedial attention and/or action on the part of educators.

A second problematic condition exists when there is a trend over time for Normative Prerogatives to become greater relative to Felt Prerogatives. As shown in Table 6, there is a hint of such a trend between children who have been in school a short time (second graders) and those who have been there for a long time (sixth graders). This trend ($F = 1.84$, $p = .16$) means that the older the child, the more Normative Prerogatives he asserts relative to the Felt Prerogatives he sees the school as granting. Note that this incremental trend over grades does not show up for teachers; this, coupled with the high t value at sixth grade, indicates that teachers do not share the perceptions of children; rather the two sets of perceptions appear to diverge as children get older. This pattern of scores suggests that the school may be less aware of, and responsive to, children's normative expectations at the higher than at the lower grades. Thus, the school, as represented by its teachers, fails to keep pace with children's emerging sense of personal competence. The upshot of this failure may be that, as children construct a sense of personal competence during the middle childhood years, the school gradually disqualifies itself as a collaborator in that process.

Territoriality

Both teachers and children are highly congruent in the Territorial domain (see Table 7). This is not to say that their perceptions of territorial customs in the school are the same, but only that each group tends to have its own normative perceptions in synchrony with its felt perceptions. As might be expected, children see themselves as highly constrained in the territorial domain (children's Felt Constraint mean = $-.7446$). Perhaps unexpectedly, they also report that they ought to be constrained in this domain, although their Normative Constraints (mean = $-.4123$) are less than their Felt Constraints and there is a slight trend, as shown in Table 9, for Normative Constraints to diminish over grades ($F = 1.87$, $p = .16$). Teachers see children as considerably less constrained than children do, both actually ($F = 47.86$, $p = .000$) and normatively ($F = 39.23$, $p = .000$). Again, as with several other findings in this study, teachers are aware of a real set of Territorial customs and a normative set of Territorial ideals that have not been adequately communicated to children. If the teachers' perceptions with respect to Territorial prerogatives in the school define what is allowable to children, then the latter have an unnecessarily constrained view of their Territorial status. Yet it is difficult to imagine that children would not take better advantage of Territorial prerogatives that were genuinely available to them. Nor is it likely they would be so obtuse as to not discern real Territorial options any better at sixth than at second grade (see Table 8). It's equally difficult to accept that teachers would be flagrantly hypocritical on this matter. The very close Congruence scores of teachers and children (see Table 7) suggest that children have brought their perceptions into line with what teachers are comfortable with rather than with the degree of Territorial prerogative teachers say children have or ought to have. In other words, if one were to assume that the level of congruence indicates

Table 7

Territory

Congruence-Discrepance Analysis of Children's and
Teacher's Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.6767	.6122	.5737	0.64	.53
Teacher Mean	.6176	.5333	.6000	0.33	.72
t	0.75	0.63	0.18		
p	.46	.53	.86		

^aPooling across grades:Child Mean^b = .6209

Teacher Mean = .5851

F = 0.28, p = .61

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Congruence.

Table 8

Territory

Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.8200	-.7308	-.6859	1.44	.24
Teacher Mean	-.2059	-.4667	-.2000	2.53	.09
t	6.79	2.14	3.76		
p	.000	.04	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = $-.7446$

Teacher Mean = $-.2873$

F = 47.86, p = .000

Teacher-Child x Grade Level interaction: F = 2.38, p = .09

^bNegative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Constraint

Table 9

Territory

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.5167	-.4199	-.3045	1.87	.16
Teacher Mean	.1765	.0000	.2000	1.26	.29
t	5.26	2.83	3.92		
p	.000	.006	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = -.4123

Teacher Mean = .1277

F = 39.23, p = .000

^bNegative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Constraint

Positive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

how comfortable one feels about the correspondence between held norms and actual practice, then corresponding levels of congruence might indicate corresponding levels of comfort.

Examination of Normative Prerogatives relative to Felt Prerogatives (See Table 10) also indicates a very close correspondence between teachers and children ($F = 0.23$, $p = .64$). This analysis further suggests that, while teachers have not communicated to children how much Territorial latitude is present or ought to be present in school, they have shared with children a sense of what might be considered a "proper" or acceptable distance between the real and the ideal in this domain. In this particular respect teachers and children have a shared set of Territorial meanings, although they clearly do not operate off comparable baselines of meaning.

It is remarkable that children are apparently so comfortable with what adults would consider an appropriate level of discrepance between the real and ideal. In the several Decision-Making domains, for example, this is not at all the case. One has to conclude that there is something about Territoriality in the school which is very different from decision making in the eyes of children. Perhaps, children recognize that Territory is a scarce and easily abused resource in the school. Unlike Decision Making it is a "hard" reality and there is only so much to go around--thus, they seem willing to relinquish Territorial prerogatives, even those they think they ought to have, and to be comfortable with this choice. This alternative interpretation suggests that children may not be responding so much to what teachers consider an acceptable level of discrepance, but to hard Territorial realities themselves. That is, children's and teachers' perceptions are in response to the same reality, although the former seem to be even more sensitized than the latter to the real and normative constraints dictated by Territorial scarcity.

Table 10

Territory

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.3533	.3340	.3417	0.02	.97
Teacher Mean	.2314	.4622	.2356	2.78	.07
t	1.34	0.92	1.12		
p	.18	.36	.27		

^aPooling across grades:Child Mean^b = .3429

Teacher Mean = .3064

F = 0.23, p = .64

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Privacy

Children and teachers have very similar perceptions in the Privacy Domain. On all four analyses, there are no significant differences between teacher and child scores (see Tables 11 to 14). Both teachers and children are highly congruent on Privacy, report a high level of Felt Prerogatives (relative to Felt Constraints), report a high level of Normative Prerogatives (relative to Normative Constraints), and have a very close correspondence between Prerogatives which actually exist and those they think ought to exist (note how close to .0000 the means are in Table 14. A mean score of .0000 would indicate perfect balance between Felt and Normative Prerogatives).

Table 13 shows a convergence of child and teacher means between second and fourth grades on Normative Prerogatives. Children assert significantly more Normative P over grades ($F = 11.48, p = .000$) while teachers have consistently high Normative P levels at each grade. This trend, which yielded a significant Child-Teacher x Grade interaction ($F = 5.60, p = .005$), shows children's reports coming into line with teachers' reports, suggesting a teacher "pull" rather than a child "push" effect on Normative P. Thus, while children actually experience a high degree of Felt Privacy in each grade, they assert even more Normative Privacy as they go through the grades, and this latter seems to be in response to the high norms held by teachers in this domain.

Privacy appears to be a set of highly shared and highly valued meanings in our society. Pilot work prior to the present study, as well as findings by Parke and Sawin (1975) indicate that adults and children share similar privacy meanings in the home setting. The present study indicates there is also rather strong consensus among adults and children that privacy is

Table 11

Privacy

Congruence-Discrepance Analysis of Children's and
Teacher Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.5600	.5256	.5385	0.07	.92
Teacher Mean	.6078	.6444	.6000	0.05	.94
t	0.43	0.86	0.43		
p	.67	.39	.67		

^aPooling across grades:Child Mean^b = .5411

Teacher Mean = .6170

F = 0.99, p = .32

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Congruence

Table 12

Privacy

Felt Prerogatives vs. Felt Constraints Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.5600	.6667	.5769	0.87	.43
Teacher Mean	.6863	.5111	.5111	1.17	.32
t	0.97	1.37	0.52		
p	.34	.18	.60		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .6017

Teacher Mean = .5745

F = 0.14, p = .71

^bPositive Mean Adjusted score indicates net Felt Prerogative

Table 13

Privacy

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.4933	.7051	.8077	11.48	.000
Teacher Mean	.8431	.6889	.7333	0.81	.45
t	3.75	0.16	0.76		
p	.000	.88	.45		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .6710

Teacher Mean = .7588

F = 2.74, p = .10

Child-Teacher x Grade Level interaction: F = 5.60, p = .005

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Table 14

Privacy

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.0040	.0135	.0827	2.49	.08
Teacher Mean	.0549	.0622	.0578	0.01	.98
t	0.88	1.10	0.43		
p	.38	.27	.67		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .0334

Teacher Mean = .0582

F = 0.69, p = .41

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

highly regarded in the school setting. It may be that the maintenance of high normative standards of privacy that are effectively put into practice is a particularly important concession to individuality in a setting which is quite crowded and essentially communal. The generally shared belief that privacy is and ought to be insured in the school may be the basis for children's ready acceptance of territorial constraints in the school, as described in the previous section. In a kind of psychological trade-off, the protection of individuality through a code of privacy may counterbalance the strong communal imperatives of school territoriality. Without assured privacy, the latter might be viewed as an intolerable strain on personal boundaries. However, with privacy assured, territorial constraints are more likely to be viewed as an acceptable aspect of group life in the school.

Custodial Decision Making

Custodial Decision Making refers to the degree to which children are seen as participating in everyday decisions of a housekeeping or logistical nature. Examples would be decisions about what hangs on the classroom walls, where the child sits in class, what procedures are adopted for going to the bathroom, etc.

On all four analyses, children and teachers differ significantly in this domain. While children tend to become less congruent over grades ($F = 1.71$, $p = .18$), teachers are highly and invariantly congruent across grade level and have an overall congruence mean much higher than that of children ($F = 27.84$, $p = .000$). This would indicate that teachers perceived a high degree of satisfaction among children, while the children report their satisfaction as relatively low and getting lower from grade to grade (see Table 15).

Children report themselves as feeling quite constrained in this domain, although there is a tendency to feel somewhat less constrained after second grade ($F = 1.82$, $p = .16$, see Table 16). Teachers have a more benign view of the child's status in this domain, reporting that children, on balance, enjoy slight prerogatives. This difference between teacher and child perceptions is highly significant at $F = 40.68$, $p = .000$.

An examination of Table 17 shows a very different pattern for Teachers' and children's Normative reports. The trend of mean scores suggests that children get their normative expectations in line with those held by teachers, especially between second and fourth grades. This is a "teacher pull" effect which, again, operates much better with respect to normative aspirations than in the arena of actual behavior (see previous paragraph). Apparently teachers communicate an ideal set of custodial prerogatives to

Table 15

Custodial Decision Making

Congruence-Discrepance Analysis of Children's and
Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.2933	.2051	.0769	1.71	.18
Teacher Mean	.6961	.6667	.6667	0.04	.95
t	3.60	2.47	6.17		
p	.001	.02	.000		

^aPooling across grades:Child Mean^b = .1918

Teacher Mean = .6773

F = 27.84, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Congruence

Table 16

Custodial Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.5100	-.3333	-.3365	1.82	.16
Teacher Mean	.1176	.0667	.2333	0.76	.48
t	4.30	3.47	4.30		
p	.000	.000	.000		

^aPooling across Grades:

Child Mean^b = -.3918

Teacher Mean = .1383

F = 40.68, p = .000

^bNegative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Constraint

Positive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Prerogative

Table 17

Custodial Decision Making

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.1700	.4167	.5288	6.14	.003
Teacher Mean	.4216	.4000	.5000	0.24	.79
t	1.61	0.11	0.24		
P	.11	.92	.81		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .3745

Teacher Mean = .4397

F = 0.77 p = .38

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

children more successfully than their presumably "real" prerogatives. This conclusion is confirmed by the analysis in Table 18 which shows that, of all the Prerogatives reported by children, almost 75% are Normative (see translation chart on page 44), while teachers report Felt Prerogatives are more closely balanced with Normative Prerogatives (about 45% and 55%, respectively). There is a clear and unambiguous sharing of normative messages juxtaposed with a relative failure to share messages about actual decision making prerogatives in the custodial domain.

How is one to interpret these findings? One interpretation is that teachers are proficient at communicating or sharing social ideals with children, but they are poor social engineers, that is, they are not proficient at putting these ideals into practice. This interpretation is critical of teachers' professional skills. A second interpretation, rather more critical of teachers' professional integrity, is that they wish to keep real decision-making power to themselves, and communicate in its stead an idealized set of prescriptions which never materializes. There may be other interpretations of this puzzling gap, but however one interprets the reason for the gap, the outcome of the gap remains the same. The harmonious vision of custodial decision making held by teachers is simply not shared by children. For children there is a steady erosion of satisfaction with school in this domain as their Normative expectations increase at a greater rate than their Felt Constraints decrease (compare Tables 16 and 17). In other words, it seems that children perceive a relative denial of their competence by the school even while they assert a readiness to exercise greater competence. This pattern could easily be associated with a buildup of tension between children and their schools.

Table 18

Custodial Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.4980	.4128	.4539	0.61	.55
Teacher Mean	.1305	.1251	.0990	0.20	.82
t	5.28	4.10	6.20		
p	.000	.000	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .4544

Teacher Mean = .1188

F = 33.64, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Socialization Decision Making

Socialization Decision Making refers to decisions about the governance and value structure of the classroom, e.g., how classroom rules are arrived at, who adjudicates rule violation, flexibility vs. structure in the use of free time in the classroom, etc.

Table 19 shows that teachers were significantly more congruent than children, that teachers were consistently and highly congruent at each grade level, and that children were significantly less congruent at sixth than at the lower grades. This analysis indicates that, while both children and teachers perceive a net correspondance between actual and ideal socialization decision-making customs, this correspondence is much higher for teachers than for children. Moreover, the grade related trend for children suggests a marked divergence of their perceptions from those of teachers. While sixth grade children show a net satisfaction pattern, there is a distinct tendency for this area to become more problematic at the higher grades.

Table 20 shows that children feel constrained on balance while teachers report that children have a great deal of prerogative with regard to influencing socialization decisions in the classroom. There is a hint of convergence between teacher and child perceptions at fourth grade, but this trend is replaced by such a sharp polarization at sixth grade that one wonders how teachers and children could be reporting on the same phenomenon. Pooling their scores across grades yields an astronomical $F = 143.73$, $p = .000$. Although teacher and child subjects were asked exactly the same questions on this variable, it is possible they interpreted one or more of the questions differently, thus partially accounting for these polarized scores. The two interviewers are unaware of any systematic differences between teachers and children in interpretation strategies. Thus, while we are prepared to assign some of the variance to a hidden but consistent interpretive difference,

Table 19
Socialization Decision Making
Congruence-Discrepance Analysis of Children and
Teacher Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.4133	.5513	.2436	3.72	.03
Teacher Mean	.8039	.7333	.8667	0.57	.57
t	3.60	1.23	5.44		
p	.001	.22	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child mean^b = .4027

Teacher Mean = .8013

F = 20.15, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Scores indicate Congruence

Negative Mean Adjusted Scores indicate Discrepance

Table 20

Socialization Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis of Children
and Teacher Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4.	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.2933	-.0641	-.3077	4.74	.01
Teacher Mean	.7255	.5556	.7333	0.80	.46
t	8.46	4.39	8.19		
p	.000	.000	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = -.2208

Teacher Mean = .6715

F = 143.73, p = .000

Teacher-Child x Grade Level interaction: F = 3.29, p = .04

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Prerogative

Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Constraint

we suspect that most of the variance is traceable to different perceptions of the child's contribution to socialization decision making.

As might be expected from the previous analysis, teachers see children as having strong Normative Prerogatives in this domain, i.e., they think that children ought to influence socialization decisions over 90% of the time (see Table 21). Children also report more Normative Prerogative than Constraint, and they tend to report relatively more Normative Prerogatives at higher grades. Although their mean scores never approximate those of teachers, there is a hint of a teacher "pull" effect here. This teacher "pull" effect, however, is not as manifest here as it was with Custodial Decision Making. In any event, this domain, like several others, shows a disturbing tendency for teachers to communicate normative ideals to children more effectively than actual prerogatives. Children are either extremely cautious in their interpretations of what degree of initiative is actually available to them or they are getting mixed messages from teachers (or both these factors may be interacting in middle class, suburban classrooms).

Table 22 shows that teachers tend to perceive children's prerogatives as almost balanced between the actual and the ideal, while children perceive an imbalance toward the ideal. Sixth graders report an approximately 2:1 ratio between normative and felt prerogatives suggesting that, for them, prerogatives are more to be aspired to than actually enjoyed in the socialization decision making domain.

Table 21

Socialization Decision Making

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.2400	.3846	.4231	1.68	.19
Teacher Mean	.9216	.8222	.8667	0.55	.58
t	7.02	3.50	4.21		
p	.000	.001	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .3506

Teacher Mean = .8724

F = 42.38, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Table 22

Socialization Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.2680	.2212	.3538	1.85	.16
Teacher Mean	.0588	.1044	.0489	0.85	.44
t	3.66	1.97	4.96		
p	.001	.06	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .2810

Teacher Mean = .0702

F = 15.58, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Instructional Decision Making

Instructional Decision Making refers to decisions of a specifically curricular or pedagogical nature, e.g., how much reading and math is done in class, what is assigned for homework, etc. Although there were no formal directional hypotheses in the present exploratory study, we had an informal expectation that both teachers and children would tend to see the Instructional Domain as very much the province of teachers. Because of teachers' extensive training and their status as both adults and experts in the subject matter of school curricula, we expected that most prerogatives, felt and normative, would be retained by teachers and conceded by children in this Domain. As was the case with privacy, we expected this to be an area of broad consensus between children and teachers.

Yet there were marked differences between teachers and children on all four analyses of this variable. Sixth grade children were significantly less Congruent than second grade children in this domain ($F = 2.93$, $p = .05$), while teachers remained consistently and highly Congruent at all grade levels (see Table 23). Inspection of Table 24 shows that children perceive themselves as having extremely little to say about Instructional Decisions. The average second grader felt constrained from participating in such decisions over 95% of the time, while even sixth graders reported constraint over 80% of the time. Teachers presented a fairly homogeneous picture over grades, seeing children constrained on 75 to 80% of these decisions (see translation chart on page 44). The gradual approximation of children's to teachers' mean scores suggests a "teacher pull" or "socialization" effect here, as the almost total paralysis reported by second graders phases into the sixth graders' relatively "relaxed" reports of feeling highly constrained.

Table 23

Instructional Decision Making

Congruence-Discrepance Analysis of Children's and
Teachers' Adjusted Mean Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.3200	.0865	.0160	2.93	.05
Teacher Mean	.5882	.4000	.6000	0.87	.43
t	1.99	2.13	3.32		
p	.05	.04	.001		

^aPooled across grades:Child Mean^b = .1408

Teacher Mean = .5319

F = 13.73, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Congruence

Table 24

Instructional Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Felt Constraint Analysis of Children's
and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.9300	-.8462	-.6538	8.15	.0005
Teacher Mean	-.5784	-.5000	-.5333	0.11	.89
t	3.28	2.56	0.83		
p	.004	.02	.41		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = -.8084

Teacher Mean = -.5390

F = 18.51, p = .000

^bNegative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Felt Constraint

Examination of the Normative reports, however, indicates a "counter-socialization" effect (see Table 25). As children reported themselves asserting more Normative Prerogatives by sixth grade, teachers seemed to retrench in a Normative Constraint position. This is the only Decision-Making Domain in which teachers seemed to communicate to children their actual status more successfully than their normative status. Obviously, teachers have an investment in retaining significant control over Instructional Decisions in school and both children and teachers' Felt means indicate the teachers indeed have effective control in this domain. Moreover, this is the one Decision-Making Domain in which teachers asserted that constraint was a desirable ideal (see Table 25). By sixth grade, however, children reported a moderate amount of prerogative as a desirable ideal, running counter to the teachers' reports. Apparently, even in the highly specialized Instructional Domain, children are more inclined to assert normative competence with age, this significant trend ($F = 8.59$, $p = .0004$) occurring despite teachers' assertions that children are relatively unqualified to participate in instructional decisions.

Children reported the great majority of their Prerogatives as being of the ideal normative type, again confirming how little Prerogative they actually feel in influencing instructional decisions (see Table 26). This is the one Decision-Making Domain in which teachers' means depart markedly from an approximate balance between Felt and Normative Prerogatives, indicating their recognition that, with regard to instructional decisions, children's input is more ideal than real.

A Two Factor Model of Decision Making Prerogatives

The finding of a "counter-socialization" effect on Normative Prerogatives suggests an alternative interpretation of the so-called "socialization"

Table 25

Instructional Decision Making

Normative Prerogative vs. Normative Constraint Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	-.2500	.0673	.2853	8.59	.0004
Teacher Mean	-.1667	.1000	-.1333	0.61	.55
t	0.42	0.16	2.29		
p	.67	.87	.03		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .0379

Teacher Mean = -.0709

F = 0.73, p = .40

Teacher-Child x Grade Level interaction: F = 2.00, p = .14

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogative

Negative Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Constraint

Table 26

Instructional Decision Making

Felt Prerogative vs. Normative Prerogative Analysis of
Children's and Teachers' Adjusted Scores by Grade Level

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	ANOVA Across Grades 2 to 6 ^a	
				F	p
Child Mean ^b	.5860	.6968	.6880	1.05	.36
Teacher Mean	.3078	.4073	.2673	0.56	.58
t	2.22	2.39	3.70		
p	.03	.02	.000		

^aPooling across grades:

Child Mean^b = .6579

Teacher Mean = .3266

F = 22.28, p = .000

^bPositive Mean Adjusted Score indicates net Normative Prerogatives

or "teacher pull" effects in the other two Decision-Making Domains. In each Domain there is a clear tendency for children to assert more Normative Prerogatives with grade. In the Custodial Domain, this trend was associated with a clear "teacher pull" pattern; in the Socialization Domain, with a hint of "teacher pull"; and in the Instructional Domain, with a pattern counterindicative of "teacher pull." The constant pattern throughout is that Children's Normative Prerogative means increase, while teachers' means are statistically invariant over grades. It matters little whether teacher means are moderately high (as in Custodial Decision Making), very high (as in Socialization Decision Making), or so low as to tip into the Normative Constraint range (Instructional Decision Making). In all cases sixth grade children assert more Normative Prerogatives than second grade children, irrespective of the strength or direction of "teacher pull." This consistent pattern suggests that the variance in child means over grade may be primarily a function of a child "push" or child "competence" effect which is manifest irrespective of teacher effects. However, the "child competence" effect may be facilitated or depressed by a secondary "teacher pull" effect. Thus, when teachers posit Decision Making Prerogatives as a strong normative ideal, the child competence effect is potentiated. The Custodial and Socialization Patterns indicate this facilitation effect (see Tables 17 and 21). When teachers downgrade Decision-Making Prerogatives as a weak ideal, the child competence effect is somewhat depressed, as was the case with Instructional Decision Making (see Table 25).

It should be recalled that Domain scores are not comparable in the present study since no attempt was made to standardize the stimulus value of interview items. But comparison of patterns of scores among Domains is less subject to this stricture, since the patterns represent abstractions

of the scores and are not the scores themselves. Thus, the above interpretation is on firm logical ground with respect to it's positing child competence and teacher pull as primary and secondary explanations of the variance in children's Normative means over grade. However, this interpretation is on shaky logical ground with respect to the interactions it suggests between these two effects, because the presumed outcome of the interaction is partially based upon comparing absolute mean scores for sixth graders across Domains. Nevertheless, this two factor interactive model is offered as a plausible interpretation of the complex relationships between teachers' and children's respective perceptions of Normative Prerogatives in the Decision Making Domains. This model, incidentally, appears to be an equally plausible interpretation of children's and teachers' Normative patterns in the Territoriality and Privacy Domains (see Tables 9 and 13).

Developmental Patterns of Evaluating Five
Aspects of the School Environment

A secondary object of the present study was to trace the developmental patterns of children's and teachers' evaluations of the school on a safe, just, responsive, liked, and important environment. These value-oriented variables were not amenable to constraint-prerogative scoring or analyses; rather they were scored as positive or negative evaluations of the school, transformed into adjusted scores (as described in Chapter 3), and analyzed primarily with ANOVA tests. With the exception of the Responsive Environment variable, there were parallel versions of each item for child and teacher subjects. For example, one item on the "liking school" variable was:

Child version: If kids didn't have to go to school,
would you want to go?

Teacher version: Suppose kids were not required by law to attend
school; do you think they would want to go to
school?

An item on the just environment variable was:

Child version: When kids break the same rule in your school, do
they get equal punishment?

Do you think kids should get equal punishment
when they break the same rule?

Teacher version: When kids break the same rule in your school, do
they get equal punishment, as far as you know?

Do you think kids should get equal punishment
when they break the same rule?

Positive answers to the question on wanting to go to school were scored as positive evaluations of the school (i.e., scored as P). Negative responses (scored as N) were considered negative evaluations. Positive and negative responses to the equal punishment items were scored as positive and negative evaluations, respectively, of the justice dimension of the

school environment. Notice that the equal punishment item included a yoked question to see if subjects agreed with the investigators' bias in framing these questions--there were seven such questions on the just and responsive environment variables. The possible scores on yoked questions were PR, PW, NW, and NR, which mean the following:

- PR: This score was assigned when the subject gave a Positive response to the first question in a yoked pair, then asserted that it was Right that the school be positive in this respect.
- PW: When the subject gave a Positive response to the first question, then asserted that it was Wrong that the school be positive in this respect.
- NW: A Negative response to the first question, followed by an assertion that the school was Wrong to be negative.
- NR: A Negative response to the first question, followed by an assertion that it was Right for the school to be negative.

Of these four possible scores, the patterns PR and NW indicate agreement with the investigators' bias, as well as psychological consistency between the subjects' yoked responses. The PW and NR responses indicate disagreement with the investigators' bias in framing these questions, as well as psychological inconsistency between the subjects' yoked responses. For example, if a subject were to say that the school gave equal punishment for equal offenses (scored P), but that this was wrong (scored W), he would get a PW score, indicating, among other things, disconfirmation of the investigators' bias. As might be expected, however, the overwhelming majority of yoked responses followed the psychologically consistent PR and NW patterns (98.1%). Thus, responses to yoked questions in effect were reducible to P (positive) and N (negative) scores and were analyzed as such in ANOVA tests of central tendency. In Chi-Square analyses of distribution of patterns, however, all four scoring patterns were kept intact (see, for example, child vs. teacher item analyses in Appendix B).

The following sections summarize and discuss the developmental patterns of children's and teachers' perceptions of the school as a safe, just, responsive, liked, and important environment.

Children's and Teachers' Evaluations of School Safety

Children: Children tend to evaluate school as a safe place for their personal possessions, that is, as a place where their things will not be stolen, misused, or used without their permission. Children's mean adjusted score was $+ .4502$, indicating over 70% of their responses were positive in this regard. Their reports about the safety of their personal possessions remain fairly constant over grade ($F = 0.65$, $p = .53$).

Paradoxically, children reported markedly different perceptions of the incidence of theft in the school, their adjusted mean score being $-.3766$, suggesting that most children "knew" of the occurrence of theft. Moreover, their perceptions of theft increased over grade ($F = 3.19$, $p = .04$), indicating that the older children were more aware of theft in the school than the younger children were. These findings may be interpreted as meaning that, while children see their own possessions as safe, they see the possessions of other children as unsafe. We can think of two possible explanations for this apparent paradox. First, it may be that children have a rather loose definition of theft, including missing and lost objects as well as bona fide stolen objects. This semantic looseness would lead to an overestimate of the actual incidence of theft, but it still indicates their sense that objects have a way of disappearing in school. Moreover, sixth graders report significantly more theft than younger children, indicating either that more theft occurs at the later grades or that, in the semantically loose sense, there is a greater perceived incidence of unexplained

missing and lost objects at the later grades. It may also be that the more elaborate social network among sixth graders facilitates the sharing of rumors about theft; this means that sixth graders may not perceive more actual theft than younger children, but that they have access to more "information" about theft, thus inflating their theft scores.

In any event, there is some reason to believe that the theft reports are artificially inflated, especially in light of children's reports that their own possessions are relatively safe. This leads to the second possible explanation of these apparently inconsistent findings. It may be that children operate under the standard hopeful formulation that lightning always strikes someone else, not willing to accept that their own things are unsafe despite their reported awareness that theft does occur in the school. Obviously, the way around these speculations would be to question children more closely about these matters, but that was beyond the intent of the present study. We suspect that both explanations account for at least part of this inconsistent finding, i.e., that children's theft score is inflated in negative directions by semantic looseness, while their personal possessions score may be somewhat positively inflated by optimism.

Contrary to their positive reports about the safety of their possessions, children tended to be quite negative about their personal safety in the school. That is, about 75% of children report that there are "tough kids who push you around or say bad things to you" in and around the school, compiling a mean adjusted score of $-.4935$. There are no significant changes in this perception across grades ($F = 0.57$, $p = .57$). It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of the children also indicated, either explicitly or implicitly, that they did not see the school as a dangerous or fearful place. Rather they reported these physical and verbal harrassments as every day annoyances of no major consequence.

Children and Teachers: Teachers were significantly more positive than children about the safety of the latter's possessions in school and significantly more negative than children about children's personal safety. As compared with youngsters' reports, teachers saw children's property as safer ($F = 4.49$, $p = .03$), theft as much less common ($F = 19.85$, $p = .000$), and children as more frequently subject to verbal and physical harrassment by other children ($F = 12.38$, $p = .001$). Although teachers were almost unanimous in reporting instances of children's being personally harrassed (mean adjusted score = .9574), 79% felt that these harrassments were mere annoyances and not dangerous, reflecting children's feelings in this respect. Thus, with regard to safety of possessions and person, teachers appeared to have more extreme perceptions than children, but in the same direction.

With regard to theft, however, the perceptions of the two groups were in opposite directions. One interesting finding was that, as grade level increased from second to sixth grade, children tended to perceive more theft, while teachers perceived less. By sixth grade, the two groups were so polarized ($t = 5.16$, $p = .000$) on this variable, that a marginally significant Teacher-Child x Grade Level interaction was found ($F = 2.82$, $p = .06$). There seems to be two markedly different phenomenal realities operating here. We suspect that teachers perceptions are likely to be closer to the "facts," since they presumably have a tighter definition of theft, but this does not entirely explain away the discrepant phenomenal realities. Whatever else this specific finding may mean, it indicates that children think there is a much higher incidence of theft in the school than teachers do.

In general the subjects, both teachers and children, reported the school as a place where minor harrassments and annoyances occur, but which is essentially safe for one's person and property and is in no sense regarded as dangerous.

Children's and Teachers' Evaluations of the
School as a Just Environment

Children: Children tend to see the school as a just environment, that is, as a place where rules are fair, punishment is equitably distributed, boys and girls are given equal treatment, and parents are willing to listen to the child's side when trouble occurs. Children's mean adjusted score was $+ .6504$, indicating a highly positive justice rating. Extracting the two items on fair rules and fair distribution of punishment to form a "fair rules sub-variable" indicates that children view the school as a markedly fair environment, yielding a mean adjusted score of $+ .6364$. Children do not vary over grades in their estimate of the overall justice ($F = 1.04$, $p = .36$) or specific fairness ($F = 0.59$, $p = .56$) of the school, although there is a slight tendency for fourth graders to be somewhat more positive than second and sixth graders.

Children and Teachers: Teachers tend to see the school as less just ($F = 4.35$, $p = .04$) and fair to children ($F = 10.57$, $p = .002$) than children themselves report. Sixth grade teachers' mean scores on the two fairness items actually tipped into the negative range (mean = $-.0667$), differing markedly from the positive scores (mean = $.5577$) of sixth grade children ($t = 2.80$, $p = .007$).

These findings indicate that, with the exception of sixth grade teachers, children and teachers see the school as a moderately to highly just and fair setting. Teachers seem to be more sensitized to failings in the school's justice system than children are. This unexpected finding may be a function of the teacher's ambivalent stance vis-à-vis the justice structure of the school.

As representatives of the school's institutional authority structure, teachers are responsible for exercising face to face authority over children. Unless they have confidence that the authority they represent is just and fair, they might easily see themselves as personally compromised. Thus, they would tend to be vigilant about shortcomings in the system. Conversely, teachers also see themselves as identified with the children in their classes. In this sense they are child advocates. In the ambivalent role of institutional representative and client advocate, teachers define themselves as accountable to two constituencies, and would almost necessarily be concerned with the integrity and fairness of the institution's authority-justice system.

Since children don't have to represent the system, but are "only" objects of its workings, they needn't take direct responsibility for its fairness. Thus, while the potential for victimization might sensitize children to the justice dimension of schooling, they at least don't have to take responsibility for breakdowns in its functioning. Nor do they define themselves as in the ambivalent role of representing both the institution and themselves, unlike the teachers. Since they tend to represent only their own interests, children don't experience conflicts of interest analogous to those of teachers. The present findings suggest that the active and ambivalent stance of teachers makes one more critical of the school's justice system than does the relatively powerless position of children. While this finding may not fit the expectations of some ideologies, it does make psychological sense. It may be that feelings of powerlessness and victimization would be stronger determinants of human sensibility in a clearly unjust setting. But when the participants in a system, such as those examined in the present study, perceive the system as being basically just, the ideology of powerlessness seems to have less explanatory relevance than the psychology of conflicted interests.

Children's Evaluation of the School as a Responsive Environment

In general children reported their teachers as being highly responsive to their needs for reinforcement, feedback and informality. Their mean adjusted score was .871 on this variable, indicating that over 90% of their responses were positive. The one item which departed somewhat from this extremely positive picture was the "wrong answer" item. In response to the question "If you give a wrong answer in class, what does the teacher do?" less than half the children (41%) reported their teachers as responding in constructive, accepting, or facilitating ways. Nine percent of the children indicated that their teachers responded in punitive, rejecting, or defeating ways, while the remaining 50% reported neutral teacher responses. Second graders reported the least positive teacher responses when they gave "wrong answers", differing significantly from fourth and sixth graders ($F = 3.01, p = .05$).

These several items indicate that children see their teachers as positively responsive. The "wrong answer" phenomenon is somewhat problematic, but becomes less so at the higher grades.

Teachers were not asked questions about their responsiveness to children's needs for reinforcement and feedback, since it would strain credibility to expect them to give other than socially desirable reports on their own behavior in this respect. Accordingly no teacher-child comparisons are available on the responsive environment variable.

Liking School and Evaluating the Importance of School

Children: Children tend to be quite positive in their overall attitude toward school. When one combines all the positive and all the negative things children could say about the school (aside from constraint and

prerogative items), the pooled mean for all children was +.4922. When one leaves out the children's reports on safety, their evaluation of the school as a responsive, just, liked, and important environment was even more positive, yielding an overall pooled mean of .7623. Children also liked school very much (mean = .6342) and saw school as extremely important (mean = .8636). The only grade trend found among children on these variables was in liking school, where sixth graders were significantly more positive than second and fourth graders ($F = 4.45$, $p = .01$). Otherwise, children tended to be more or less constant across grades in their positive evaluation of school.

Children and Teachers: One might expect that, given the children's highly positive reports about the school, it would be difficult to overestimate how much they liked school. But the teachers did just that, reporting the children as liking school beyond the already high level reported by children ($F = 6.86$, $p = .009$). However, teachers underestimated how important a place children perceived school to be ($F = 3.93$, $p = .05$). This latter finding may simply be an artifact of the extremely high importance children assigned to school, close to the ceiling score of +1.000, thus making it statistically probable that teachers would underestimate the children's reported evaluation. However, the two findings in conjunction make for some interesting speculations. They may mean that, while teachers tend to overestimate how pleasant school is for children, they underestimate how seriously children take school. This suggests that teachers have a relatively trivialized view of childhood in which children relate to their experience more in terms of emotional gratification than in terms of expressed competence. This interpretation is consistent with the Prerogative and Constraint findings reported earlier. The present findings may also be a reflection of teachers' focus on the

motivational dimension of schooling rather than on the "inherent" value of subject matter and learning. Teachers may be relatively unaware of children's capacity for assigning value to formal learning itself, thus focusing more on making school a pleasant place for them. In any event, the over-riding finding here is that both teachers and children see school as an important and positive place for children. The speculations offered about the over-underestimation crossover must be viewed as refinements within a general context of agreement between teachers and children on the positive value of school.

Discriminative Power of Child Characteristics Other Than Grade Level

A large number of analyses were done by child characteristics other than grade level. As shown in Table 27, grade level had by far the most discriminative power with respect to the ten variables examined in the present study. The only other child characteristic with appreciable discriminative power was family size. Other variables, such as sex, birth order, Socio-Economic Status (as measured by the NORC Prestige Scale), the System Maintenance sub-scale of the CES, and children's perception of punishment in the school as just or unjust, apparently did not discriminate to any appreciable degree. Because of the large number of statistical tests used in this study, it was expected that some apparently "significant" results would be specious (see discussion of this point in Chapter 3). This expectation was based on the principle that, with repeated analyses of the same body of data, statistical tests tend to lose power, yielding a somewhat inflated estimate of differences. Thus, to merit serious consideration, any given set of analyses had to yield compelling or strongly suggestive trends. According to this guideline the only variable other than grade level meriting serious consideration was family size. Accordingly, only family size is discussed at length in this section.

Family Size

Small families were defined as those with one or two children ($N = 66$) and large families had three or more children ($N = 88$). They made up 43% and 57% of the sample, respectively. Children from small families generally gave more positive evaluations of the school than large family children. For example, small family children liked school more ($F = 4.41, p = .04$) and

Table 27

Discriminative Power of Child Characteristics

Child Characteristic	Percentage of ANOVA's on Variables Which Were: ^a			
	Significant ^b	Marginally Significant ^c	In Trend Zone ^d	Total Percentage ^e
Grade Level	40%	None	20%	60%
Family Size	10%	5%	40%	55%
Sex	10%	5%	None	15%
Birth Order	5%	10%	5%	20%
SES	5%	None	10%	15%
CES System Maintenance ^f	5%	None	10%	15%
Perception of Just vs. Unjust Punishment ^g	None	10%	5%	15%

^aFifteen ANOVA's on Competence Variables plus 5 ANOVA's on Value Variables = Total of 20 ANOVA's

^bSignificant: $p = .05$ or less

^cMarginally Significant: $p = .06$ to $.09$

^dTrend Zone: $p = .10$ to $.20$

^eTotal Row Percentage of 20 ANOVA's

^fCES = Classroom Environment Scale

^gJust vs. Unjust Punishment: Interview Item #29 (see Appendix A)

saw school as a more important place ($F = 8.44, p = .004$). They also tended to see the school as more just ($F = 1.97, p = .16$), but there were no differences between the two groups on their evaluations of the school as a responsive or safe environment.

With respect to the several analyses of competence-oriented variables, there was a general tendency (at the level of marginal significance and trends) for school to be somewhat more problematic for large family children on Territory and Privacy, with a mixed picture on decision making variables. Large family subjects were less congruent on Territory ($F = 3.24, p = .07$) and felt more constrained on Territory ($F = 1.96, p = .16$) and Privacy ($F = 1.79, p = .18$). As discussed earlier in Chapter 2 under Validity, it makes sense that domains like Territory and Privacy would be more problematic for children from large families. The greater number of people in their households would increase competition for space and lead to more spontaneous intrusions into their privacy. Moreover, when one considers that small and large families (as defined here) are constant with respect to adult membership and differ only in number of children, the added element of sibling rivalry would tend to make privacy and territoriality even more problematic in large families.

However, there was a trend on Decision Making variables for small family subjects to report more Felt Constraints than large family subjects. This trend approached statistical significance only on Instructional Decision Making ($F = 2.58, p = .11$), but it is noteworthy that the trend is the opposite of that for Privacy and Territoriality. It may be that children from small families are accustomed to being one voice among few at home, but feel relatively constrained in school where they are one voice among many. Children from large families would probably make the adjustment from

home to school more easily. At home they are already one voice among many, thus they've presumably developed compensatory skills. Also, about 40% of their competition at school comes from small family children, who are probably less challenging in this respect than their siblings at home. It's no wonder they feel less constrained than their small family peers in having a say about decisions in the school.

If, indeed, large family children have developed compensatory skills at home which are generalizable to the school setting, one would expect them to assert more Normative Prerogatives in school, and it appears that they do. On all Normative P vs. Normative C analyses there was a consistent trend for large family children to assert more prerogatives than small family children. The overall summary index was $F = 2.60$, $p = .10$; Territory was $F = 1.96$, $p = .16$; Instructional Decision Making was $F = 2.04$, $p = .15$; and Socialization Decision Making was $F = 1.88$, $p = .17$. These results, while short of significance, clearly indicate a tendency for large family children to be more assertive of prerogatives in school.

The general picture, then, seems to be that large family children are less positive about school than their small family peers. They are also more discrepant and assert more Normative Prerogatives. Children from large families are accustomed to operating in a context of relative scarcity, thus they would be sensitized to discrepancies between what is and what ought to be, and more likely to have learned to assert their own prerogatives. School, like their homes, has a relatively high "population density," so they may simply transfer their coping skills to the school. Children from small families probably don't have these "economy of scarcity" skills to the same degree, thus they are less likely to manifest them in the school. Also, since they are less likely to have to struggle for territory, voice,

and privacy at home, they may be prepared to accept certain constraints in school with relative equanimity and feel less motivated to assert prerogatives. Feeling under less pressure to compete for these commodities in school may account for their generally more positive attitude toward school. Of course, this interpretation is speculative, as one would have to interview children about their perceptions of constraints and prerogatives at home to see if our assumptions about different degrees of scarcity, competition, etc., do indeed correspond to subjects' characterizations of their home settings.

There was a marginal tendency ($\chi^2 = 4.72$, $p = .09$) for family size not to be independent of grade level. Large family children were overrepresented in the sixth grade, thus raising the possibility that grade level findings might have been potentiated by family size findings. On two of the major constraint/prerogative analyses, large family children showed patterns of response parallel to sixth grade children. Both large family children and sixth grade children tended to be more discrepant and to assert more Normative Prerogatives relative to small family children and lower grade children, respectively. However, on Territoriality small family children reported less Felt Constraint, resembling sixth grade children in this respect. Moreover, like sixth grade children, small family subjects also expressed significantly more liking for school ($p = .01$ and $.04$, respectively). Since small family children are underrepresented in the sixth grade, these two findings suggest that, while grade level and family size may approach non-independence as they characterize subjects in this study, they surely make independent contributions to the variance on the ten variables under consideration.

Other Child Characteristics

Child characteristics other than grade level and family size contributed remarkably little to variance in the present study. We had a particular interest in the CES System Maintenance subscale and children's perceptions of whether punishment was justly distributed in school, since measures similar to these covaried with acting out behavior in the NIE Violent Schools-Safe Schools study (1978, Chapter 5). Our expectation was that low scores on the CES subscale would be associated with indices of tension in the present study, as would children's perceptions of school punishment as being unjust. As shown in Table 27, however, neither relationship materialized. Either these measures were not comparable with those in the Safe Schools study, the kind of tension studied here is not associated with acting out behavior, or there is an interaction between age and these variables such that relationships become more manifest at the secondary level. At present we are unable to account for this non-finding.

Socio-Economic Status (as measured by the NORC Occupational Prestige Scale) was no more related to variance in children's perceptions of school than were CES and children's justice reports. Sex and Birth Order showed slightly more explanatory power, but clearly not enough to overcome the statistical stricture on repeated analyses discussed above.

Discriminative Power of Teacher Characteristics
Other than Grade Level

One of the most remarkable findings in the present study was that grade level discriminated so well for children, while hardly discriminating at all for teachers. Grade Level had by far the most discriminative power for children (see Table 27), showing that children varied consistently over grade toward feeling fewer constraints, asserting more Normative Prerogatives, and reporting less congruence between their felt and normative status. Teachers, however, tended to present a fairly monolithic front to children, or at least one would so conclude on the basis of Grade Level analyses alone. But inspection of Table 28 shows that three other teacher characteristics had enough discriminative power to merit some consideration: whether teachers identified their approach as open or structured, how important they thought classroom control was, and their education level.

Teacher Education Level

As might be expected, teachers with M.A. degrees ($N = 24$) were somewhat more progressive in their perceptions of children and a bit more critical of the school environment than were teachers with terminal B.A. degrees ($N = 23$). The M.A. teachers were slightly more negative in their reports on the quality of justice in school, thus indicating more sensitivity to their ambivalent role as advocate for children and representative of institutional authority. The M.A. teachers tended, although only moderately, to see children as having more Felt Prerogatives in their classrooms, while the B.A. teachers saw children as more constrained. There were also consistent but weak trends for M.A. teachers to see children as meriting more Normative Prerogatives than B.A. teachers, particularly

Table 28

Discriminative Power of Selected Teacher Characteristics

Teacher Characteristic	Percentage of ANOVA's on Variables Which Were: ^a			
	Significant ^b	Marginally Significant ^c	In Trend Zone ^d	Total Percentage ^e
Open vs. Structured Approach ^f	37%	11%	None	47%
Control ^g	16%	16%	None	32%
Education Level	16%	None	5%	21%
Grade Level	None	5%	None	5%

^aFifteen ANOVA's on Competence Variables plus four ANOVA's on Value Variables = Total of 19 ANOVA's

^bSignificant: $p = .05$ or less

^cMarginally Significant: $p = .06$ to $.09$

^dTrend Zone: $p = .10$ to $.20$

^eTotal Row Percentage of 19 ANOVA's

^fOpen vs. Structured Approach: Last Question on Teacher Interview

^gControl: Consists of 1st, 4th, and 5th scales on Teacher Checklist, page 10 of Teacher Interview (see Appendix A).

on Territoriality, and slightly on Privacy and Custodial Decision Making. In general, it may be concluded that M.A. teachers sensed more actual and emergent competence in their students, although this conclusion is not based on a powerful set of findings.

Teacher Control

The Teacher Control variable was made up of the combined scores of how much importance teachers assigned to Classroom Control, Having a Quiet Classroom, and Strict Enforcement of Rules (see three scales on page 10 of Teacher Interview Form in Appendix A). The highest possible score was 15, with those scoring 11 or more designated as the High Control group ($N = 36$) and those scoring 10 or less as the Low Control group ($N = 11$).

There was a tendency for High Control teachers to evaluate the school more favorably than Low Control teachers, especially with respect to justice and fairness. High Control teachers also perceived children's status in school as rather more congruent, especially in the Instructional and Custodial Decision Making domains. Thus, high control teachers reported school to be a more positive and less problematic place for their students. Beyond this there was no consistent pattern of findings, except with respect to these three results on Instructional Decision Making:

1. High Control teachers perceived more Congruence than Low Control teachers ($F = 4.79$, $p = .03$).
2. High Control teachers reported more Felt Constraints than their Low Control colleagues ($F = 1.16$, $p = .29$).
3. But Low Control teachers reported more Normative Prerogatives ($F = 4.46$, $p = .04$).

These results suggest that High Control teachers exercise their control specifically in the area of Instructional Decision Making. The Low Control

teachers see this domain as somewhat more problematic for youngsters and report that the latter ought to have a greater voice in decisions of a specifically pedagogical nature. Thus, for the teachers in this sample, classroom control seems to hinge on how much control they retain over their instructional function, while being unrelated to their custodial and socialization functions. Low control teachers seem more prepared to share instructional decisions with children, both actually and normatively, while High Control teachers reserve these decisions to themselves.

Open vs. Structured Approach

The most powerful discriminator for teacher subjects was how they answered a single question at the end of the Teacher Interview (see Appendix A):

Would you describe your general approach as:

_____ tending to be structured, or

_____ somewhat open-ended

Thirty teachers identified themselves as "tending to be structured," while 17 defined their approach as "somewhat open-ended." As shown in Table 28, these groups differed significantly or marginally significantly on almost half the 19 ANOVA's of the nine teacher variables.

Structured Teachers were overwhelmingly more positive about the school environment than open teachers were, reporting it as significantly more liked, just, and safe for children (p levels ranged from .0001 to .0009). Generally, structured teachers' perceptions of the school environment approximated those of children, with the exception of safety, where open teachers' reports were more like children's reports.

Open teachers saw much less congruence than structured teachers between children's felt and normative status on competence-oriented variables,

particularly on decision making variables (e.g., overall decision making $F = 13.58$, $p = .0007$). Thus, they saw school as considerably more problematic for youngsters than structured teachers did, and, in this respect, their perceptions approximated those of children.

There was a consistent, although modest, tendency for structured teachers to see children as feeling more constrained in school, while open teachers attributed many more Normative Prerogatives to children. In fact, open teachers thought children merited more Normative Prerogatives than the children themselves asserted. On the five normative status analyses, the means of structured teachers were much closer to the overall means of children. However, when the normative means of sixth grade children are isolated, the picture changes somewhat. The older children's asserted competence on Privacy, and Custodial and Instructional Decision Making more closely approximated the perceptions of open than structured teachers. Thus, as children more fully manifest their "competence push" they move out of structured teachers' zone of perception and into a world view closer to that of open teachers. For the purpose of facilitating the emergence of children's competence, there would seem to be a "good fit" between open teachers and children at the higher grades. Unfortunately, however, Grade Level and Open vs. Structured Approach turned out to be independent variables ($\text{Chi-Square} = 0.87$, $p = .65$), indicating that this good fit does not exist in the real world, at least not in the real world sampled by this study.

In summary, structured teachers seemed to be more in contact with children's good feelings about school, while open teachers were more sensitive to children's problematic feelings and their aspirations for enhanced competence. Most of the open teachers reported themselves as working in

conventional settings, a factor which may partially explain their rather critical stance toward school. Through their divergent perceptions and their presumably divergent influences, these two kinds of teachers present very different visions of school to children and speak to very different parts of the child's sensibility. Structured teachers seem to have a more accurate sense of children's values about place (i.e., justice, fairness, etc.), while open teachers seem more connected with children's most advanced aspirations for themselves as persons (i.e., competence, effectiveness, etc.). This is not to suggest that these respective connections are static "givens." Rather they are more likely the outcomes of ongoing negotiations between teachers and children in which there is a mutual construction of a way of life in school, a way of life that is complex, inconsistent, and brings together a variety of worldviews.

As might be expected, Teacher Control and Open vs. Structured Approach were not clearly independent of each other. Seventy percent of the High Control Teachers defined their general approach as structured, while only 45% of the Low Control Teachers identified with the structured approach. Although these percentages are suggestive, two statistical tests fell short of significance: Chi-Square = 1.19, $p = .27$; Kendall's Tau B = .21, $p = .08$. Thus, these variables are not reducible to one characteristic, although, for practical purposes, there would appear to be more than a little overlap between them.

Other Teacher Characteristics

Three other teacher characteristics were analyzed for their possible value as discriminators: teacher age, teacher experience, and teacher "innovation rate" (i.e., how much importance they assigned to New Classroom Projects: see page 10 of Teacher Interview Form in Appendix A). None

of these characteristics contributed to variance in teacher reports, so they are not discussed here.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study began by asking two questions (see page 1):

As children move through the elementary grades, what is the pattern of correspondance between their perception of the way things are in school (the felt order) and the way things ought to be (the normative order)?

How do children's perceptions compare with teachers' perceptions of the felt and normative orders of the elementary school?

The best overall answers to these questions are found in the Summary Developmental Patterns as charted in figures 1 through 4. The Congruence-Discrepance analysis indicates two unfortunate trends (see Figure 1). First, children's decreasing congruence signals a growing divergence between their perceptions of what their prerogatives are and what they ought to be. As children's Normative Prerogatives increase almost monotonically over the three grades (see Figure 3) their Felt Prerogatives do not increase at the same rate. Between grades 4 and 6, children report the latter as not increasing at all (see Figure 2). If one were to overlay Figures 2 and 3 and hold them up to the light, the divergence in the growth rates of Normative and Felt Prerogatives would be dramatically evident (since the ordinate and abscissa scales on the two figures are uniform, this comparison can easily be made; simply superimpose the second grade children's "triangles"). It is the acceleration of normative expectations over perceived realities which accounts for the decrease in children's Congruence over grades (i.e., an increase in discrepance). If our hypothesis about the relationship between diminishing congruence and increasing tension holds, this pattern indicates an increase in the tension felt by children in the upper elementary grades.

Figure 1
Congruence vs. Discrepance
Summary Developmental Pattern

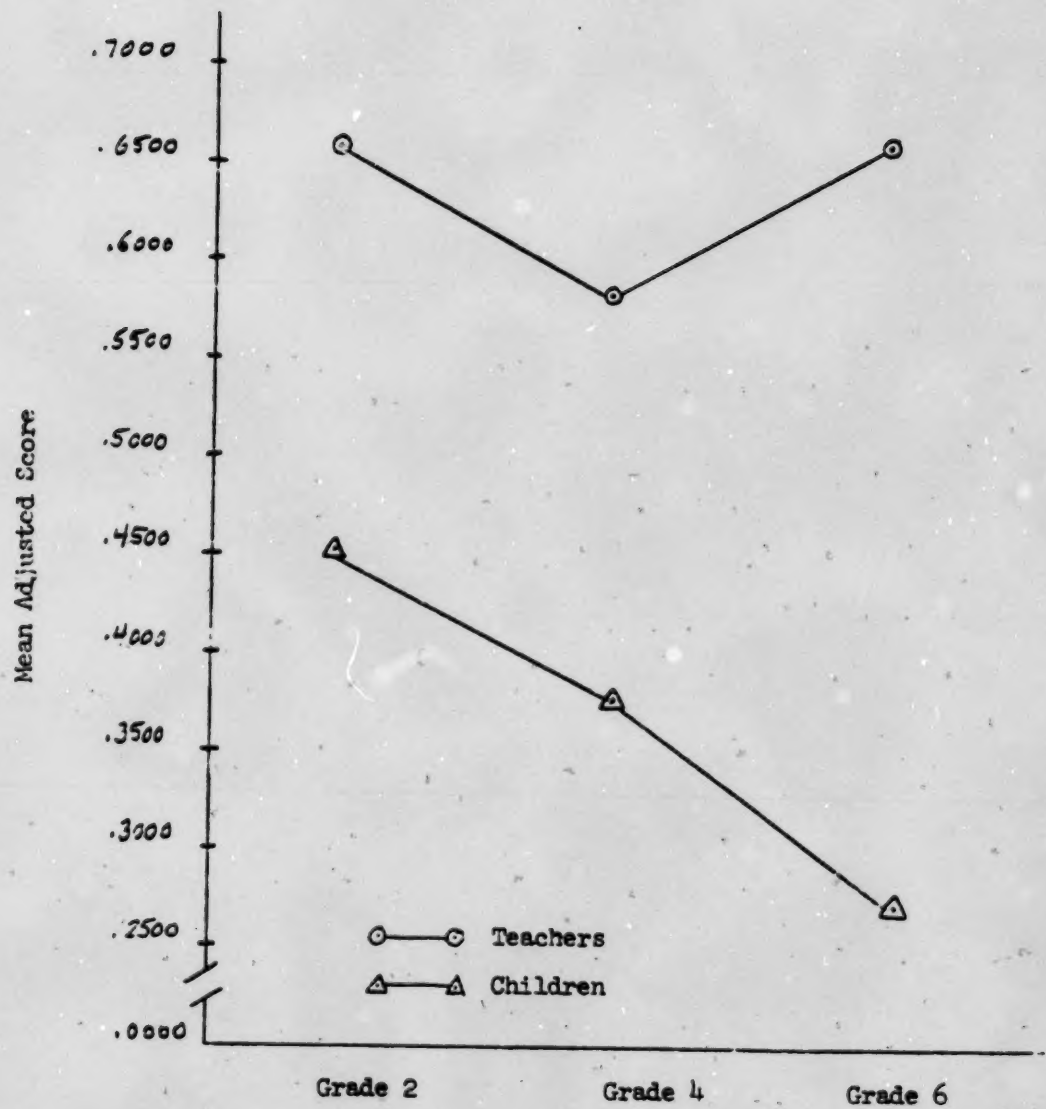


Figure 2
Felt Prerogatives (+) vs. Felt Constraints (-)
Summary Developmental Pattern

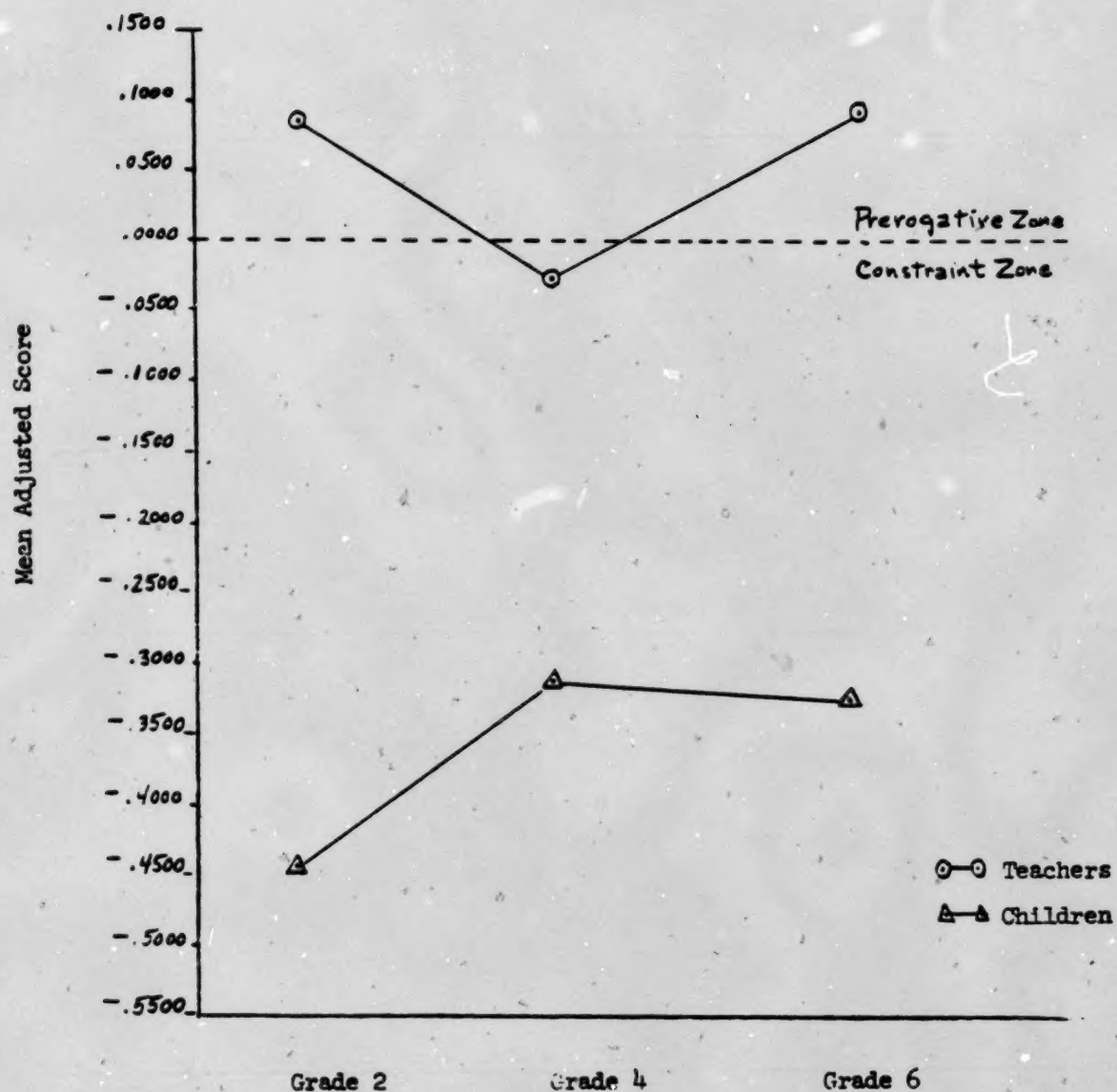
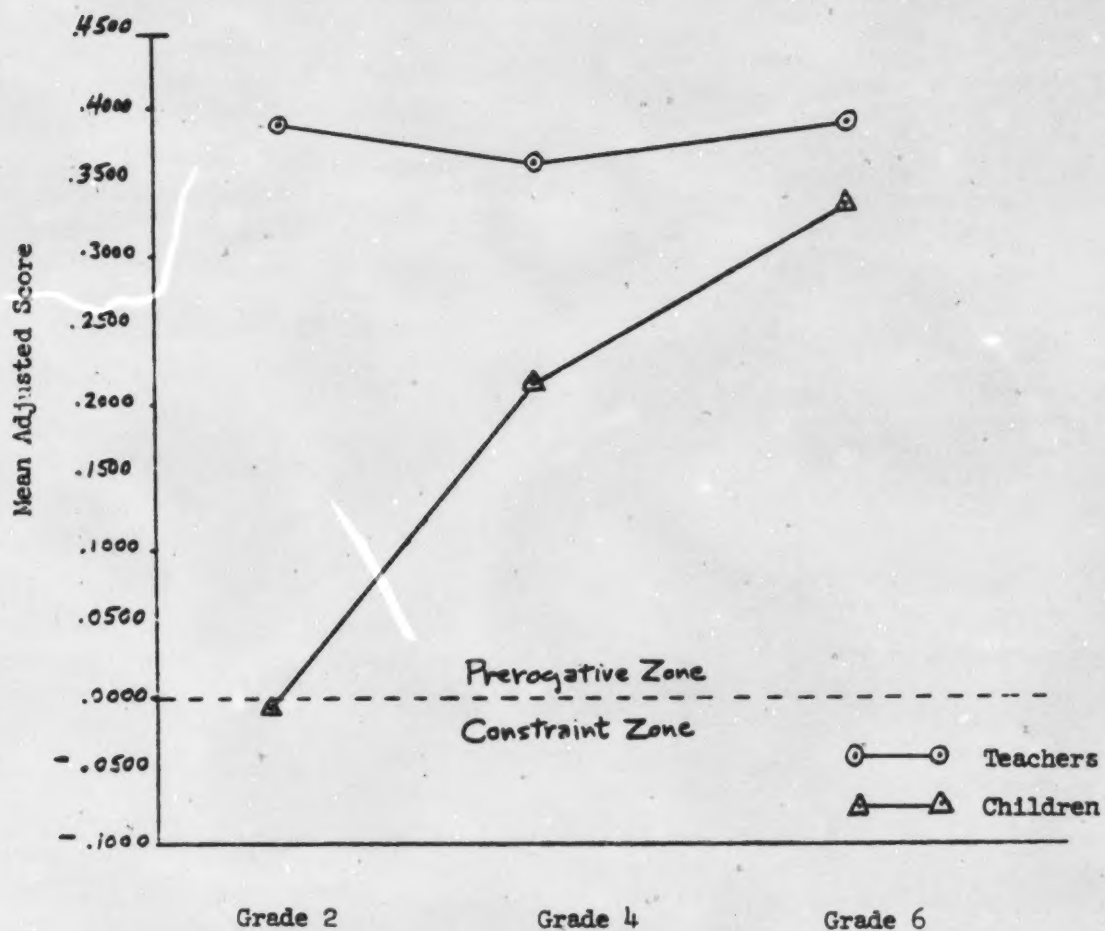
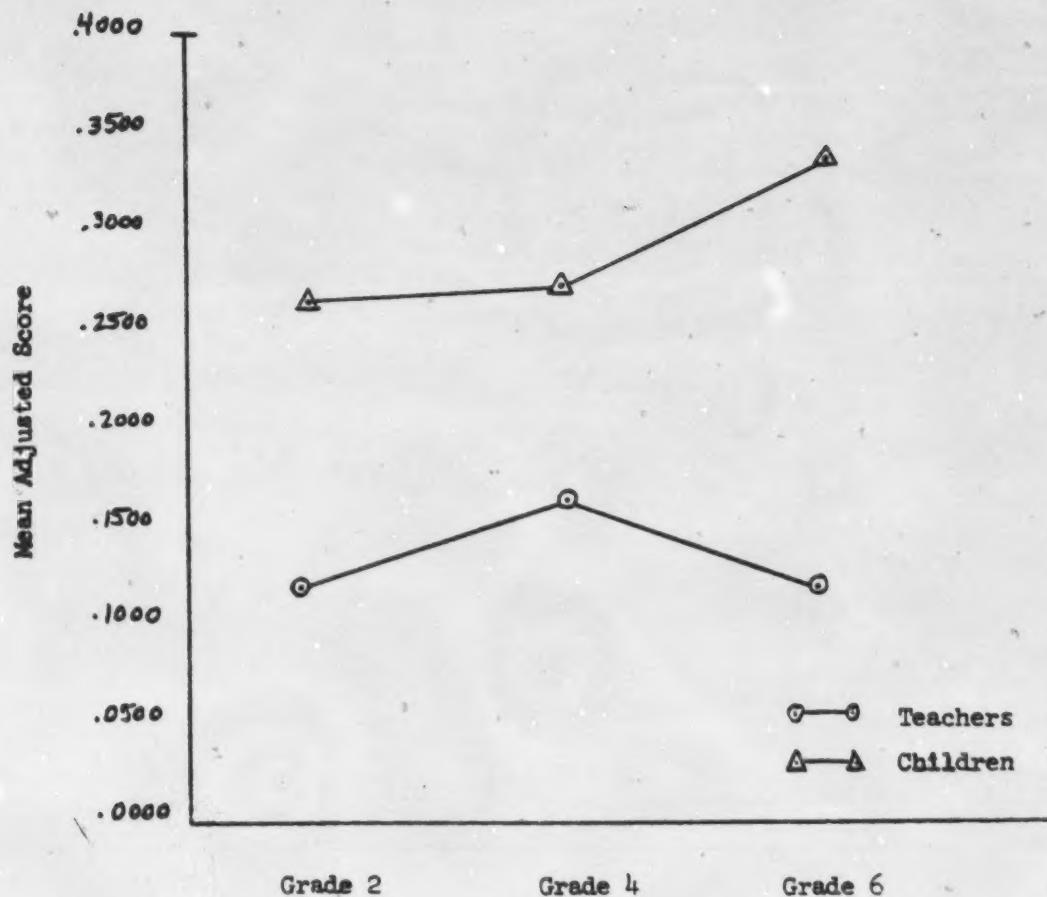


Figure 3
 Normative Prerogatives (+) vs. Normative Constraints (-)
 Summary Developmental Pattern



The second trend evident in Figure 1 is that teachers and children are in sharply divergent patterns, teachers remaining more or less constantly and highly congruent in their perceptions over grades, while children become monotonically less congruent over grades. This divergent pattern suggests that the two groups are increasingly out of touch with each other's phenomenal realities. While children's patterns are indicative of increasing tension, teachers' patterns indicate a fairly stable sense of harmony at essentially the same high level over grades. The only general area in which teachers and children seem to have convergent patterns is in their respective perceptions of Normative Prerogatives (see Figure 3). But even here it is interesting to note that, while teachers perceive children as having many Felt and Normative Prerogatives, they seem to communicate the latter to children more successfully than the former. Thus, as Figure 4 shows, the great majority of prerogatives reported by children are of the normative type, while only a slight majority of prerogatives reported by teachers are normative. By sixth grade, teachers and children are sharply polarized on this point, teachers showing their standard harmonious pattern (i.e., a mean score close to .0000), while children's normative expectations are increasingly out of synchrony with their Felt Prerogatives. To the degree that teachers are the eyes and ears of the school, these results indicate the school does not see or hear the same set of social conventions as children, i.e., it is unaware of the increasing tension between children's perceptions of what is and what ought to be in school; unaware, it may fairly be said, that its own lack of awareness probably contributes to the growing quantum of tension.

Figure 4
Felt Prerogatives (-) vs. Normative Prerogatives (+)
Summary Developmental Pattern



Conclusions

The foregoing encourages several general conclusions. First, teachers and children give markedly different responses when asked to reflect on the same events in school. Appendix B contains Chi-Square Tests of child and teacher responses to 27 directly comparable interview items: of these, 17 showed significant differences, four were marginally significant, one was in the trend zone, and only five showed no differences. The inescapable conclusion is that the two groups have very different perceptions and interpretations of precisely the same everyday, recurring events. Teachers are quite out of touch with how much actual constraint children feel, even while the two groups report a relatively shared set of normative ideals and values.

Second, while grade level is the single most important source of variance for children, it contributes almost nothing to teacher variance. As children move through the grades they do not have exposure to teachers who adjust to their emerging sense of social competence. With respect to the variables examined in this study teachers present a monolithic front to children, regardless of grade level. This is a remarkable finding and raises the question of whether a better match can be achieved between teachers and children at the several grade levels. Teachers who identify their approach as "open" seem to be more in touch with the aspiration level of sixth graders, while structured teachers are closer to the overall averages of children (i.e., combined across grades). This is not meant to imply that there is a "perfect fit" between open teachers and sixth grade children, for that was surely not the case. It did seem, however, that the open vs. structured approach of teachers was related to variance in their perceptions that

partially paralleled variance in children's grade related perceptions. Since teacher's general approach was not independent of grade level, this finding suggests that teachers who already work in schools may not be optimally assigned to grade levels. Ironically, there is a tendency in educational circles to define open teachers as more appropriate to the early childhood years (e.g., preschool, kindergarten). While the present findings do not diametrically contradict this popular wisdom, they suggest that at the upper elementary grades, an open approach may also have relevance, although, perhaps, for rather different reasons. At the earlier levels, openness is generally viewed as the appropriate context for young children's more playful modes of learning and as a benign introduction to group life outside the family. At the upper grades, however, some version of openness may be the best context for children's experimenting with the interface between social actions and social norms, and coming to terms with the complex interactions among social constraint, individual prerogative, and participatory decision making.

The third and final major conclusion is that there appears to be an action-value split in school. While children's actions are constrained, their ideals are fostered and their values are supported. Why don't teachers communicate a felt status to children as effectively as their normative status? Why is it that children do not receive messages about behavioral options that teachers think they send? We can think of two answers to these questions. First, it is probably easier to communicate values, norms, and ideals than it is to actually construct a working social system in the classroom. The former involves primarily verbal communication, with the latter requires high order and rather subtle social engineering skills, as

well as a real will to work hard at implementing a system which is felt by children as actually working. It is doubtful that many teachers have this requisite combination of skill and good will.

Second, teachers are accountable not only to their own values and norms, but to those of the school as an institution. The social system a teacher engineers in the classroom may be a compromise between these two often contradictory demand systems. While the teacher's norms and values can be held and communicated as abstract, publicly shared ideals, they probably cannot be the basis of a functioning social system, at least not in schools as they are conventionally organized and operated.

Assuming, then, as our findings show, that there is an institutionalized split between the real and normative orders, what might the effects of this split be? First, the split may be at the heart of children's legendary ambivalent feelings about school, as summarized in the once common song:

School days, school days,
Good old golden rule days,
Reading and writing and 'rithmetic,
Taught to the tune of the hickory stick...

"Golden rule(s)" combined with the "hickory stick" . . . while the words of this ditty might need some updating to be relevant to the modern suburban school, the conflict between expressed values and constrained action still seems to be very much a part of the current scene. Children have been and still are ambivalent about school, because, at bottom, school is ambivalent about children.

Second, one has to consider whether this bifurcation between "golden rules" and less than golden action systems is acceptable to children. If they feel a stronger need to reduce the dissonance between felt constraints and normative prerogatives than adults do, might this not be a source of tension between children and their schools? Is the school's failure to support the productive expression of competence at the elementary level a precursor to the destructive behavior more evident at the secondary level? After all, physical acting out could be viewed as an expression of the enhanced physical competence of adolescents and might be a substitute for the more benign expressions of social competence which were not allowed or encouraged at the earlier grades. One way or another, children will assert some version of personal competence, especially in a society, such as ours, where individual expression is held in such apparent esteem.

A third effect of the institutionalized split between values and actions, especially as it seems to increase over grades, may be that the school incrementally disqualifies itself as a collaborator in the child's construction of social competence. This is particularly unfortunate since the school does seem to participate in the symbolic elaboration of the child's competence and value systems. Children see the school as a just, responsive, and important setting, and as a place where their privacy is respected. Moreover, the school, as represented by teachers, seems to be more or less in touch with children's normative expectations. But the school, again as represented by its teachers, does not support the translation of these symbolic expectations into everyday actions. If, as we

assumed in Chapter 1 (see page 5), a major project of childhood is to bring one's level of felt prerogatives into line with one's level of normative prerogatives, then the school's value-action split disqualifies it from full participation in this project. Paradoxically the school's ambivalent stance may inadvertently promote autonomy in children, but it does so by default rather than through direct intention.

Yet, despite the school's action-value split, children seem to like school very much. In fact, this study found that the upper grade children liked school significantly more than their lower grade counterparts, even though they reported greater discrepancy between their felt and normative status and saw themselves as meriting prerogatives at a faster rate than the school allows. How can these apparently contradictory trends be squared with each other? We have evidence on tape, not yet systematically analysed, that older children like school because it is where their peer group congregates, particularly their friends. It may be that their prerogative aspiration level and their liking school are both functions of the same phenomenon, i.e., an emerging peer-group social life at school in which there is a reciprocal shaping of expectations in "Normative Prerogative" directions as well as a medium for companionship with friends. For younger children, peer group life is not as highly developed, thus each child develops his Normative Prerogatives more or less on his own. Moreover, their friends are more likely to be where they live rather than at school. Research on friendship patterns has indicated that physical proximity is a more important determinant for younger than for older children (e.g., Bigelow, 1977).

Another possible explanation for older children liking school more is that children report a significant diminution in Felt Constraints over grade level. Although their felt status remains preponderantly constrained at fourth and sixth grade, it is considerably less constrained than at second grade (see Table 4 on page 51). However, this explanation has a major weakness: the dropoff in reported constraints is between Grade 2 and Grade 4, while the increase in liking school occurs between Grades 4 and 6. Short of invoking a "delayed reaction" hypothesis, the relationship between decreased Felt Constraints and increased liking of school would be hard to defend. Thus, the peer group hypothesis offered above seems to have more explanatory relevance.

Recommendations

Several recommendations are presented below, some growing out of the substantive findings of this study, and others addressed to its methodology.

Substantive Recommendations

This study could lead to a radical critique of the elementary school, i.e., to recommendations that the school be restructured at its roots. Children's favorable attitudes toward school would seem to counter such recommendations for extreme change, but these attitudes could be dismissed as "false consciousness". That is, it might be argued that children like school as it exists since they've never been exposed to alternative modes of group life. But we are not prepared to dismiss a strong finding simply because it complicates the picture children have given us of life in the school.

Nevertheless, the sharp bifurcation in school between action and ideals requires reflection. This is not because we hold that intra-institutional harmony or equilibrium is a necessary good; often conflict can be constructive and creative. Rather it is a question, first, of degree of conflict and, second, of whether the school wants to participate more directly in the child's translation of aspirations into a working social competence. Too much conflict is counterproductive over the long run and may lead to alienation, anger, and destructive acting out behavior. Perhaps, we see the precursors to these facts of secondary school life in the verbal reports of our sample of elementary children (and these children are not drawn from "combat zone" schools; most parents would be happy to have their children enrolled at the schools attended by our subjects). Moreover, too little convergence of working agenda means that the school disqualifies itself as a collaborator in the child's emerging sense of personal and social competence. Elementary schools must decide if they want the tolerable standoff they currently have or collaboration in some more fully developed sense. Assuming that collaboration is the preferable, if more challenging, alternative, we offer two recommendations.

First, open teachers who are disposed to work with older children ought to be moved into the upper elementary grades. They seem to be in closer touch with older children's aspirations to effectance, i.e., to shape the social system that shapes them. Open teachers are in closer communication with the older child's " competence push" and, according to our two factor model (see pp. 85, 88-89), would be more likely to facilitate

the child's competence push with a complementary "teacher pull".

Second, teachers need better training in the development of "social engineering" skills. Currently, they seem to be unable to put into action values and norms which they think ought to apply to classroom life. Most know little about organizing a viable and pluralistic social system in the classroom that allows children genuine participation in decision making. This is a task for colleges of education and school district offices that manage inservice teacher training. Of course, this recommendation would require a reordering of the incentive system of most schools. Unless teachers are rewarded for doing so, they will not develop the will to build a micro-society that attempts to coordinate norms with actions.

Methodological Recommendations

First, we recommend more extensive use of interview methods with children and teachers, particularly to find out why they perceive life in the school the way they do. What are the social formulas they carry in their minds that shape their interpretations of, and are shaped by, their experience in school? We have taken this next step with our child subjects and have an extensive collection of their rationales on tape, but have not yet analyzed them. Our experience has convinced us that the probing interview is a viable research method with children. They related to the interview, for the most part, openly, eagerly, and with evident interest in the topics raised. They were sober, thoughtful, and task oriented, not frivolous, and certainly not disinterested.

Second, it would be interesting to interview high school and junior high school youngsters about their perceived constraints and prerogatives in school.

Interviewing older children would show whether there is a relationship between acting out behavior and problematic perceptions of school such as those examined in the present study. It might also indicate which patterns of self-report are associated with other behavioral profiles, e.g., becoming indifferent to school, achieving in school, etc.

Third, this study shows the benefits of observing phenomenal realities as opposed to the more standard research strategy of bypassing them to observe a presumably "harder" (i.e., more valid) reality. In fact, a culture generating species such as our own responds as much, if not more, to what it thinks exists as to what "really" exists. Reality itself is known only through representations and it is understood only through the organization of representations into culturally shaped models of the world. Further, the relevance of the phenomenal approach is even greater when the object of study is the perception and interpretation of social life.

Perhaps we ought to reconsider the social science bias that "exploratory" research of this type is synonymous with "preliminary" research, and that it has value only as it is followed by the application of better controlled, more standardized, positivistic techniques. Exploratory research does not have predictive power, but it may have considerable interpretive power, provided it adopts sound criteria for separating reasonable from fanciful interpretations. This type of research is a valid genre in its own right when the object is to explore the ways people make sense of their social lives. After all, social life itself, even as an objective reality, is hardly separable from the various interpretations people bring to, and make of, their own and other's social actions.

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Appendix A

CHILD AND TEACHER INTERVIEW FORMS

Demographic Data on Children

Interviewer _____

Date _____

Subject Name _____

School _____

Age _____ Date of Birth _____

Grade _____ (Been in this grade all year?) _____

Sex _____

Race _____

Number of Sibs _____

Birth order _____

One parent family _____ lives with whom _____

two parent family _____

SES _____ Occupation _____

Teacher _____

TERRITORIALITY--PRIVACY

1. When you are in your classroom, do you have enough space?

You know, enough room for yourself?

(1) _____

How much do you think you should have? (more, less, the same)

2. Does the teacher ever look in your notebook without your permission? (2) _____

Do you think the teacher should be allowed to? (without your permission)

3. Do you have your own place at school to put your things in, that no one else can use... like a shelf or in your desk? (3) _____

(IF YES) And no one but you can use it?

(IF NO) Why doesn't the school let you have a place for yourself?

Do you think kids should have a place in school that's their own?

Why?

4. Does your classroom have a place where you can get away from the group and work alone? (4) _____

Do you think you should have a place like that in school?

5. Can you get up and walk around the classroom any time you want to?
(without the teacher's permission) (5)_____

Is there a rule about this? Why do you have this rule?

Do you think you should be allowed to walk around any time you want
to, without permission? _____

Why do you think so?

If there was no rule, would it be OK to walk around the classroom
whenever you wanted to? _____

Why? _____

6. Can you take your chair and move it any where in the classroom
or do you have to keep it in one place? (6)_____

Do you think this is the way it should be? _____

7. Are you allowed to walk around the school without the teacher's
permission whenever you want to? (7)_____

Why not? _____

Should you be allowed to? What do you think? _____

Why? (Why not?) _____

CUSTODIAL DECISION-MAKING

8. Do you and the teacher decide together what is put on the bulletin board or around the room for display? (explain the notion of collaborative decision-making)

(8) _____

Do you think you should have a say in this?

9. Do you decide with the teacher where you sit in class?

(9) _____

(IF NO) Why not?

Should you have a say about this?

Why?

10. Do you vote on where your class goes on a trip?

(10) _____

Do you think you should have a vote on this?

11. When you have to go to the bathroom during class, are you allowed to leave the room on your own? (without teacher's permission)

(11) _____

Is there a rule about this? Why do you have this rule?

Should you be allowed to leave for the bathroom on your own?

Why?

Would leaving for the bathroom on your own be OK if there was no rule against it?

Why?

INSTRUCTIONAL DECISION-MAKING

12. Do you help to decide how much math and reading is done in class? (12) _____

Why? _____

Do you think you should help decide how much math and reading you do? _____

Why? _____

13. During art period, can you decide what to make? (13) _____

Why? _____

Do you think you should be allowed to decide what you make? _____

Why? _____

14. What's the difference between subjects like art and reading? _____

Which one is more important, art or reading? _____

(14) _____

Why do you think so? _____

15. Do you help to decide how much homework you do? (15) _____

Do you think you should help to decide how much homework you do? _____

16. Do you help to decide what school work you do in school? (16) _____

Should you have a say about this? _____

SOCIALIZATION DECISION-MAKING

17. You know the rules you have in your classroom . . .

Do you help to decide what these rules are? You know, you and the
teacher and the other kids together . . . ?

(17) _____

Why? (Why not?)

Do you think you should help to decide what the class rules are?

Why do you think so?

18. Do you help to decide what happens to you when you break a rule?

(18) _____

Why? Why not?

Should you help to decide what happens when you break a rule?

Why do you think so?

19. When you have finished your work in class, can you decide what you
do next?

(19) _____

Do you think you should have a say about this?

CLIMATE EVALUATION

20. If you give a wrong answer in class, what does the teacher do? (20) _____

Is this the way it should be? _____

21. When you don't understand something in class, can you ask the teacher for extra help? (21) _____

(IF NO) Why not? How come?

How do you feel about that?

Is this the way it should be? _____

Why? _____

22. Does the teacher say it's good when you do good work in school? (22) _____

Is that the way it should be? _____

23. Are you and the other kids ever friendly with the teachers, you

know, joke with them a little or have fun with them?

(23) _____

(IF NO) Why do you think it's this way in school?

Do you think this is the way it should be?

Why?

24. Do you sometimes want to stay home from school?

(24) _____

(IF YES) How often, a lot, once in a while...?

Why?

Why do you think you have to go to school? (Probe: Why is it important to learn?)

Do you think you should go to school on every school day?

Why?

25. Do you like school?

(25) _____

Why?

26. If kids didn't have to go to school, would you want to go?

(26) _____

Why?

27. You do reading and math in school, right?

(27) _____

Why do you think the school makes you study these subjects?

Do you think you should study these subjects in school?

Why?

28. Are the rules in your school fair?

(28) _____

(IF YES) Do you think the rules are as fair as they should be?

(IF NO) Do you think the rules should be fair?

29. When kids break the same rule in your school, do they get equal punishment?

(29) _____

(IF YES) All of them...all the time? Why do you think the school gives them equal punishment?

(IF NO) Why don't they get equal punishment? What do you think? Do you think kids should get equal punishment when they break the same rule?

Why?

(PROBE:) What about a kid who breaks rules a lot... should that kid get the same punishment as a kid who breaks the same rule once or twice?

30. Are the boys and the girls treated the same in your school?

(30) _____

Why does the school treat them (the same...differently)?

Do you think boys and girls should be treated the same in school?

Why?

31. When you get in trouble in school, do your parents listen to your side? (31) _____

(I don't mean, do they agree with you, but do they listen to your side?)

Is that the way it should be?

SEX ROLE

32. Do you think most boys like school?

(32) _____

Why?

33. Do you think most girls like school?

(33) _____

Why?

34. Who likes school more, boys or girls?

(34) _____

Why do you think so?

Boys:

Girls:

35. (if not mentioned) Who's smarter in school, boys or girls?

(35) _____

Why are _____ smarter than _____?

SAFETY

36. Can you leave your book bag at your desk without anyone taking it or messing with it? (36) _____
37. Can you keep money in your coat in the coatroom and know it will be safe (won't be stolen)? (37) _____
38. Can you bring your sneakers to school and know nobody else will use them? (38) _____
39. Do you know any kids in your school who had their stuff stolen? (39) _____
 (IF YES) What do you think about that?
 Do you think the school can do anything about it? What?
 Should there be a rule against it? _____
 Is stealing wrong even when there's no rule against it? _____
 Why do you think so? _____
40. Are there some tough kids who push you around or say bad things to you, like in the hallway or around the school? (40) _____
 (IF YES) Why do you think it happens?
 Do you think the school can do anything about it? What?
 Should there be a rule against it? _____
 Is fighting wrong even when there's no rule against it? _____
 Why? _____

Now, I'm going to ask you a bunch of short questions. You just give me the first true answer that comes to your mind, OK?

Interpersonal Relationships

1. Do the kids in your class mostly pay attention, or not? (1) _____
2. Do the kids in your class really care about the stuff they do in school, you know, reading and math? (2) _____
3. Do the kids in your class know each other really well? (3) _____
4. Are there some kids in your class who don't like other kids in the class? (4) _____
5. Does your teacher go out of her way to help the students in your class? (5) _____
6. Does your teacher sometimes embarrass kids who don't know the right answer? (6) _____

Goal Orientation

1. Is almost all your class time spent on school work? (1) _____
2. Does your teacher often talk about other things, you know, different from school work? (2) _____
3. Do the kids in your class try hard to get the top grade in the class? (3) _____
4. Do kids in your class usually pass even if they don't do much? (4) _____

System Maintenance

1. Are your class activities carefully planned? (1) _____
2. Does the teacher often have to tell the kids to calm down? (2) _____
3. Does your teacher explain what will happen if a kid breaks a rule? (3) _____
4. Do the rules in your class change a lot? (4) _____
5. Does your teacher mean it when she makes a rule, I mean really mean it? (5) _____
6. Is your teacher strict or easy? (6) _____

System Change

1. Do the kids in your class do different activities on different days, I mean really different activities? (1) _____
2. Do the kids in your class do the same kind of homework almost every day? (2) _____
3. Does your teacher sometimes let the kids make up new projects? (3) _____
4. Does your teacher listen when the kids come up with new ideas in class? (4) _____

Teacher Demographics

Interviewer _____

Date _____

Subject Name _____

Sex _____ Age _____

Grade Level _____

Race _____

Home Room Teacher? (yes or no) _____

Professional Preparation: B.A. _____

Major _____

Some Grad. _____

Major _____

M.A. _____

Major _____

Post M.A. _____

Major _____

Experience: _____ Years

Suburban setting? (yes or no) _____

SES of Students _____

State certified? (yes or no) _____

Certificate in elementary _____

secondary _____

other _____

TERRITORIALITY--PRIVACY

1. Do you think each student has enough space in the classroom? (1) _____

How much do you think they should have? (more, less, the same) _____

2. Do you ever look in students' notebooks without their permission? (2) _____

Do you think you should be allowed to do this without
their permission? _____

3. Does each student have his own private space in school . . .
like a desk? (where he can put his things in) (3) _____

(IF YES) And no one but the student can use it?

Do you think each student should have a private space? _____

4. Does your classroom have a quiet area where a student can go when he
wants to work alone? (get away from the group) (4) _____

Do you think your classroom should have an area like this? _____

5. Can students in your class get up and walk around the classroom
anytime they want to? (without seeking your permission) (5) _____

Do you think a student should be allowed to do this? _____

6. Can a student take his chair and move it anywhere in your classroom or does he have to keep it in one place? (6) _____

Do you think this is the way it should be? _____

7. Is a student allowed to walk around the school without your permission? (7) _____

Should they be allowed to? _____

CUSTODIAL DECISION-MAKING

8. Do your students have a say about what is put on the bulletin board

or around the room for display?

(8) _____

Should they have a say about this? _____

9. Do your students have a say about where they sit in class,

you know, where their desk is?

(9) _____

Do you think they should have a say in this? _____

10. Does your class vote on class trips?

(10) _____

Do you think the students should have a say about this? _____

11. Are your students allowed to leave the room on their own when

they have to go to the bathroom? (without your permission;

before it becomes an emergency)

(11) _____

Do you think they should be allowed to? _____

INSTRUCTIONAL DECISION-MAKING

12. Do students have a say about how much math and reading is done in

class?

(12) _____

Do you think they should help decide how much math and reading

is done?

13. As far as you know, is a student allowed to make whatever he wants

during art period?

(13) _____

Do you think a child should be allowed to make whatever he wants?

14. Which subject is more important, art or reading?

(14) _____

15. Do your students have a say about how much homework is assigned? (15) _____

Do you think the students should help to decide this?

16. Do your students have a say in what school work they do in

school?

(16) _____

Do you think students should have a say in this?

SOCIALIZATION DECISION-MAKING

17. Do your students participate in making the classroom rules?

You know, are your classroom rules jointly decided upon? (17) _____

Do you think the students should have a voice in this? _____

18. Do your students have a say about what happens to them when they

break a rule? (18) _____

Do you think they should help to decide what happens to them? _____

19. When a student has completed his work in class, can he decide

what to do next? (without asking your permission) (19) _____

Do you think he should have a say about this? _____

23. Are you ever friendly with the children, you know, are you ever informal with them or have fun with them? (23) _____

Do you think this is the way it should be in school? _____

25. On balance, do you think kids like school? (25) _____

26. Suppose kids were not required by law to attend school; do you think they would want to go to school? (26) _____

27. In your opinion, do kids think subjects like math and reading are important? (27) _____

. . . relevant to their lives? _____

28. Are the rules in your school fair?

(28) _____

(IF YES) Do you think the rules are as fair as they should be?

(IF NO) Do you think rules should be fair in school?

29. When kids break the same rule in your school, do they get

equal punishment, as far as you know?

(29) _____

(IF YES) All of them . . . all the time?

Do you think kids should get equal punishment when they break
the same rule?

What about repeat offenders? Should a child who breaks a rule
a lot get the same punishment as one who breaks the
same rule infrequently?

30. Are the boys treated the same as the girls in your school?

(30) _____

Do you think boys and girls should be treated the same in school?

31. In your experience, do parents tend to listen to the child's side

when he has trouble with the school?

(31) _____

Do you think that's the way it should be?

SEX ROLE

32. Do you think most boys like school? (32) _____
33. Do you think most girls like school? (33) _____
34. Who likes school more, boys or girls? (34) _____
35. Who do you think is more capable in school, boys or girls? (35) _____

SAFETY

36. Can children leave their book bags at their desks without anyone taking them or messing with them? (36) _____
37. Is it safe for a child to leave money in his coat pocket and hang it in the coat room? (37) _____
38. In general, are children's personal possessions safe in school? (38) _____
39. Do you know any children at your grade level who have had something stolen this year? (39) _____
40. Do you ever see children getting pushed around or verbally abused by other children, I mean, in or around the school? (40) _____
- (IF YES) Do you think they are really in danger or are these mere annoyances? _____

TEACHER CHECKLIST

10

Very
Important

Important

Somewhat
Important

Of Slight
Importance

Not
Important

CLASSROOM CONTROL

NEW CLASSROOM PROJECTS

GIVING STUDENTS EMOTIONAL SUPPORT

HAVING A QUIET CLASSROOM

STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF RULES

Would you describe your general approach as:

_____ tending to be structured

OR

_____ somewhat open ended

Table 1 Item by Item Comparison of Distributions of
Child and Teacher Scores

Territoriality Item #1
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT	COL PCT	TOT PCT		
	1.1	2.1			
CC	1.	I	119	I	131
		I	90.8	I	65.2
		I	77.3	I	
		I	59.2	I	
C ₃ P	3.	I	9	I	36
		I	25.0	I	17.9
		I	5.8	I	
		I	4.5	I	
C ₂ P	4.	I	26	I	34
		I	76.5	I	16.9
		I	16.9	I	
		I	12.9	I	
COLUMN TOTAL			154	47	201
			76.6	23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 66.32971 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001

Explanation of Scores:

CC = Felt Constraint, Normative Constraint

C₃P = Particularly Strong Felt Constraint, Strongly
Asserted Normative Prerogative

C₂P = Felt Constraint, Normative Prerogative

Table 2
Territoriality Item #5
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW	PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
	COL	PCT				TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	1	1.1	2.1	
			I	I	I	
	1.	I	100	I	9	109
C-C		I	91.7	I	8.3	54.2
		I	64.9	I	19.1	
		I	49.8	I	4.5	
			I	I	I	
	2.	I	27	I	37	64
P-P		I	42.2	I	57.8	31.8
		I	17.5	I	78.7	
		I	13.4	I	18.4	
			I	I	I	
	3.	I	24	I	1	25
C-P		I	96.0	I	4.0	12.4
		I	15.6	I	2.1	
		I	11.9	I	0.5	
			I	I	I	
	4.	I	3	I	0	3
P-C		I	100.0	I	0.0	1.5
		I	1.9	I	0.0	
		I	1.5	I	0.0	
			I	I	I	
	COLUMN		154	47		201
	TOTAL		76.6	23.4		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 62.42504 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001

Table 3
Territoriality Item #6
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
ROW	PCT	I			
COL	PCT	I			
TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
		I	I	I	I
C=C	1.	I	89	15	104
		I	85.6	14.4	51.7
		I	57.8	31.9	
		I	44.3	7.5	
		I	I	I	I
P=P	2.	I	35	29	64
		I	54.7	45.3	31.8
		I	22.7	61.7	
		I	17.4	14.4	
		I	I	I	I
C=P	3.	I	26	3	29
		I	89.7	10.3	14.4
		I	16.9	6.4	
		I	12.9	1.5	
		I	I	I	I
P=C	4.	I	4	0	4
		I	100.0	0.0	2.0
		I	2.6	0.0	
		I	2.0	0.0	
		I	I	I	I
COLUMN			154	47	201
TOTAL			76.6	23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 25.81233 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001

Table 4

Territoriality Item #7
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
	COL PCT	I				TOTAL
	TOT PCT	I	1.1	2.1		
		I	I	I	I	I
	1.	I	74	46	I	120
C=C		I	61.7	38.3	I	90.2
		I	86.0	97.9	I	
		I	55.6	34.6	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	2.	I	1	1	I	2
P=P		I	50.0	50.0	I	1.5
		I	1.2	2.1	I	
		I	0.8	0.8	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	3.	I	11	0	I	11
C=P		I	100.0	0.0	I	8.3
		I	12.8	0.0	I	
		I	8.3	0.0	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	COLUMN		84	47		133
	TOTAL		64.7	35.3		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 6.67084 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 68

SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .04$

Note: There were no PC scores on this item.

Privacy Item #2
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

CHI SQUARE = 3.85042 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
NON SIGNIFICANT AT p = .27

Privacy Item #3
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

CHI SQUARE = 0.69346 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
NON SIGNIFICANT AT p = .70

165

Table 7

Privacy Item # 4

Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

COUNT	ROW PCT	COL PCT	TOT PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
1.	11	84.6	7.1	5.5	1.0	13
2.	95	76.6	61.7	47.3	29	124
3.	47	74.6	30.5	23.4	16	63
4.	1	100.0	0.6	0.5	0	1
COLUMN TOTAL	154	76.6	47	23.4	201	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 0.91202 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
NON SIGNIFICANT AT p = .82

Table 8

Custodial Decision-Making Item #8
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

		COUNT				
	ROW	PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
	COL	PCT				TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	1	1.1	2.1	
			-----I-----I-----I			
	1.	I	23	I	1	24
C=C		I	95.8	I	4.2	11.9
		I	14.9	I	2.1	
		I	11.4	I	0.5	
			-----I-----I-----I			
	2.	I	66	I	45	111
P=P		I	59.5	I	40.5	55.2
		I	42.9	I	95.7	
		I	32.8	I	22.4	
			-----I-----I-----I			
	3.	I	64	I	1	65
C=P		I	98.5	I	1.5	32.3
		I	41.6	I	2.1	
		I	31.8	I	0.5	
			-----I-----I-----I			
	4.	I	1	I	0	1
P=C		I	100.0	I	0.0	0.5
		I	0.6	I	0.0	
		I	0.5	I	0.0	
			-----I-----I-----I			
		COLUMN	154	47	201	
		TOTAL	76.6	23.4	100.0	

CHI SQUARE = 40.80425 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001

Custodial Decision-Making Item #9
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

CHI SQUARE = 26.21111 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001 (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2)

Table 10

Custodial Decision-Making Item #10
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
COL	PCT	I				TOTAL
TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1		
C=C	1.	I	61	I	12	I 73
		I	83.6	I	16.4	I 36.3
		I	39.6	I	25.5	I
		I	30.3	I	6.0	I
P=P	2.	I	23	I	11	I 34
		I	67.6	I	32.4	I 16.9
		I	14.9	I	23.4	I
		I	11.4	I	5.5	I
C=P	3.	I	70	I	23	I 93
		I	75.3	I	24.7	I 46.3
		I	45.5	I	48.9	I
		I	34.8	I	11.4	I
P=C	4.	I	0	I	1	I 1
		I	0.0	I	100.0	I 0.5
		I	0.0	I	2.1	I
		I	0.0	I	0.5	I
COLUMN			154		47	201
TOTAL			76.6		23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 6.86308 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
MARGINALLY SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .08$

Table 11

Custodial Decision-Making Item #11
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

		COUNT	I				
	ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
	COL	PCT	I				TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	I	1.I	2.I		
	1.	I	46	I	32	I	78
C=C		I	59.0	I	41.0	I	54.5
		I	46.0	I	74.4	I	
		I	32.2	I	22.4	I	
	2.	I	10	I	8	I	18
P=P		I	55.6	I	44.4	I	12.6
		I	10.0	I	18.6	I	
		I	7.0	I	5.6	I	
	3.	I	43	I	3	I	46
C=P		I	93.5	I	6.5	I	32.2
		I	43.0	I	7.0	I	
		I	30.1	I	2.1	I	
	4.	I	1	I	0	I	1
P=C		I	100.0	I	0.0	I	0.7
		I	1.0	I	0.0	I	
		I	0.7	I	0.0	I	
		COLUMN	100		43		143
		TOTAL	69.9		30.1		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 16.78142 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0003 (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 58)

Instructional Decision-Making Item #12
Distirubtion of Child and Teachers Scores

CHI SQUARE = 4.92471 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
MARGINALLY SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .09$

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Table 13

Instructional Decision-Making Item #13
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

		COUNT	I			
	ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW
	COL	PCT	I			TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
	1.	I	48	I	24	I 72
C=C		I	66.7	I	33.3	I 35.8
		I	31.2	I	51.1	I
		I	23.9	I	11.9	I
	2.	I	26	I	6	I 32
P=P		I	81.3	I	18.8	I 15.9
		I	16.9	I	12.8	I
		I	12.9	I	3.0	I
	3.	I	79	I	17	I 96
C=P		I	82.3	I	17.7	I 47.8
		I	51.3	I	36.2	I
		I	39.3	I	8.5	I
	4.	I	1	I	0	I 1
P=C		I	100.0	I	0.0	I 0.5
		I	0.6	I	0.0	I
		I	0.5	I	0.0	I
		COLUMN	154		47	201
		TOTAL	76.6		23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 6.39320 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
MARGINALLY SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .09$

Table 14

Instructional Decision-Making Item #15
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
COL	PCT	I				TOTAL
TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1		
		I	I	I	I	I
	1.	I	71	23	I	94
C-C		I	75.5	24.5	I	48.2
		I	46.7	53.5	I	
		I	36.4	11.8	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	2.	I	8	11	I	19
P-P		I	42.1	57.9	I	9.7
		I	5.3	25.6	I	
		I	4.1	5.6	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	3.	I	73	9	I	82
C-P		I	89.0	11.0	I	42.1
		I	48.0	20.9	I	
		I	37.4	4.6	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	COLUMN		159	43		195
	TOTAL		77.9	22.1		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 20.37289 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .0001$ (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6)

Note: There were no PC scores on this item.

Table 15

Instructional Decision-Making Item #16
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW	PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
	COL	PCT	I			TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	I	1.I	2.I	
	1.	I	81	I	21	102
C=C		I	79.4	I	20.6	50.7
		I	52.6	I	44.7	
		I	40.3	I	10.4	
	2.	I	13	I	19	32
P=P		I	40.6	I	59.4	15.9
		I	8.4	I	40.4	
		I	6.5	I	9.5	
	3.	I	59	I	7	66
C=P		I	89.4	I	10.6	32.8
		I	38.3	I	14.9	
		I	29.4	I	3.5	
	4.	I	1	I	0	1
P=C		I	100.0	I	0.0	0.5
		I	0.6	I	0.0	
		I	0.5	I	0.0	
	COLUMN		154		47	201
	TOTAL		76.6		23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 29.90251 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .0001$

Table 16

Socialization Decision-Making Item #17
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

		COUNT	I		CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW
		ROW PCT	I					TOTAL
		COL PCT	I					
		TOT PCT	I		1.I		2.I	
			I		I		I	
		1.	I		41	I	1	42
C-C			I		97.6	I	2.4	20.9
			I		26.6	I	2.1	
			I		20.4	I	0.5	
			I		I		I	
		2.	I		51	I	39	90
P-P			I		56.7	I	43.3	44.8
			I		33.1	I	83.0	
			I		25.4	I	19.4	
			I		I		I	
		3.	I		69	I	7	69
C-P			I		89.9	I	10.1	34.3
			I		40.3	I	14.9	
			I		30.6	I	3.5	
			I		I		I	
			I		I		I	
		COLUMN			154		47	201
		TOTAL			76.6		23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 37.08488 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .0001$

Note: There were no PC scores on this item.

Table 17

Socialization Decision-Making Item #18
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW TOTAL
	COL PCT	I				
	TOT PCT	I	1.1	2.1		
		I	I	I	I	I
	1.	I	96	7	I	103
C=C		I	93.2	6.8	I	51.2
		I	62.3	14.9	I	
		I	47.8	3.5	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	2.	I	9	33	I	42
P=P		I	21.4	78.6	I	20.9
		I	5.8	70.2	I	
		I	4.5	16.4	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	3.	I	46	7	I	55
C=P		I	87.3	12.7	I	27.4
		I	31.2	14.9	I	
		I	23.4	3.5	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
	4.	I	1	0	I	1
P=C		I	100.0	0.0	I	0.5
		I	0.6	0.0	I	
		I	0.5	0.0	I	
		I	I	I	I	I
			156	47		201
	COLUMN TOTAL		76.6	23.4		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 91.01197 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .0001$

Table 18

Socialization Decision-Making Item #19
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
ROW PCT	PCT	I			
COL PCT	PCT	I			
TOT PCT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
C=C	1.	I	10	1	11
		I	90.9	9.1	5.5
		I	6.5	2.1	
		I	5.0	0.5	
P=P	2.	I	117	46	163
		I	71.8	28.2	81.1
		I	76.0	97.9	
		I	58.2	22.9	
C=P	3.	I	25	0	25
		I	100.0	0.0	12.4
		I	16.2	0.0	
		I	12.4	0.0	
P=C	4.	I	2	0	2
		I	100.0	0.0	1.0
		I	1.3	0.0	
		I	1.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL			154	47	201
			76.6	23.4	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 11.62382 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .009$

Table 19

Like School Item #25
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
ROW	PCT	I			
COL	PCT	I			
TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
P	1.	I	76	40	116
		I	65.5	34.5	81.1
		I	79.2	85.1	
		I	53.1	28.0	
P ₂	2.	I	12	1	13
		I	92.3	7.7	9.1
		I	12.5	2.1	
		I	8.4	0.7	
N	3.	I	6	6	14
		I	57.1	42.9	9.8
		I	8.3	12.8	
		I	5.6	4.2	
COLUMN TOTAL			94	47	143
			67.1	32.9	100.0
CHI SQUARE = 4.50450 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM					
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 58					
TREND ZONE AT p = .11					

Explanation of Scores:

P = Unqualified Positive

P₂ = Qualified Positive

N = Negative

Table 20

Like School Item #26
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

		COUNT	I			
	ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW
	COL	PCT	I			TOTAL
	TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
	1.	I	56	I	41	I 97
P		I	57.7	I	42.3	I 81.5
		I	77.6	I	87.2	I
		I	47.1	I	34.5	I
	2.	I	8	I	0	I 8
P ₂		I	100.0	I	0.0	I 6.7
		I	11.1	I	0.0	I
		I	6.7	I	0.0	I
	3.	I	8	I	6	I 14
N		I	57.1	I	42.9	I 11.8
		I	11.1	I	12.8	I
		I	6.7	I	5.0	I
	COLUMN		72		47	119
	TOTAL		60.5		39.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 5.60038 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
MARGINALLY SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .06$ (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 82)

Explanation of Scores:

P = Unqualified Positive

P₂ = Qualified Positive

N = Negative

Table 21

Just Environment Item #29
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW	PC1	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW	
	COL	PC1	I		TOTAL	
	TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
	1.	I	116	I	27	I 143
		I	81.1	I	18.9	I 73.3
		I	78.4	I	57.4	I
		I	59.5	I	13.8	I
	3.	I	31	I	16	I 47
		I	66.0	I	34.0	I 24.1
		I	20.9	I	34.0	I
		I	15.9	I	8.2	I
	4.	I	1	I	4	I 5
		I	20.0	I	80.0	I 2.6
		I	0.7	I	8.5	I
		I	0.5	I	2.1	I
	COLUMN		146		47	195
	TOTAL		75.4		24.1	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 13.20984 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .001 (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6)

Explanation of Scores:

P-R = Positive, and Right that school should be positive on this point.

N-W = Negative, and Wrong that school should be negative on this point.

N-R = Negative, and Right that school should be negative on this point.

Table 22

Just Environment Item #30
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
ROW	PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW		
COL	PCT	I		TOTAL		
TOT	PCT	I	1.I	2.I		
	1.	I 110	I 37	I 147		
P-R		I 74.8	I 25.2	I 73.1		
		I 71.4	I 78.7	I		
		I 54.7	I 18.4	I		
	2.	I 1	I 0	I 1		
P-W		I 100.0	I 0.0	I 0.5		
		I 0.6	I 0.0	I		
		I 0.5	I 0.0	I		
	3.	I 40	I 8	I 48		
N-W		I 83.3	I 16.7	I 23.9		
		I 26.0	I 17.0	I		
		I 19.9	I 4.0	I		
	4.	I 3	I 2	I 5		
N-R		I 60.0	I 40.0	I 2.5		
		I 1.9	I 4.3	I		
		I 1.5	I 1.0	I		
	COLUMN	154	47	201		
	TOTAL	76.6	23.4	100.0		

CHI SQUARE = 2.54646 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
NON SIGNIFICANT AT p = .47

Explanation of Scores:

P-R = Positive evaluation, and Right that school should be positive on this point.

P-W = Positive evaluation, and Wrong that school should be positive on this point.

N-W = Negative evaluation, and Wrong that school should be negative on this point.

N-R = Negative evaluation, and Right that school should be negative on this point.

Table 23

Just Environment Item #31
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
ROW PCT	PCT	I			
COL PCT	PCT	I			
TOT PCT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
P-R	1.	I	142	41	183
		I	77.6	22.4	92.4
		I	93.4	89.1	
		I	71.7	20.7	
N-W	3.	I	4	5	14
		I	64.3	35.7	7.1
		I	5.9	10.9	
		I	4.5	2.5	
N-R	4.	I	1	0	1
		I	100.0	0.0	0.5
		I	0.7	0.0	
		I	0.5	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL			152	46	198
			76.8	23.2	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 1.59596 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
NON SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .45$ (MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3)

Explanation of Scores:

P-R = Positive, and Right that school should be positive on this point.

N-W = Negative, and Wrong that school should be negative on this point.

N-R = Negative, and Right that school should be negative on this point.

Table 24

Safe Environment Item #36
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL
ROW PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL	
COL PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL	
TOT PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW TOTAL	
Safe	1.	95	38	133
	71.4	28.6	66.2	
	61.7	80.9		
	47.3	18.9		
Unsafe	3.	59	9	68
	86.8	13.2	33.8	
	38.3	19.1		
	29.4	4.5		
COLUMN TOTAL	154	47	201	
	76.6	23.4	100.0	

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.08202 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .02

Table 25

Safe Environment Item #37
Distribution of Child and Teachers Scores

	COUNT	I				
	ROW	PCT	CHILDREN	TEACHERS	ROW	
	COL	PCT	I		TOTAL	
	TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1	
			-----I-----I-----I			
	1.	I	94	I	38	I 132
Safe		I	71.2	I	28.8	I 65.7
		I	61.0	I	80.9	I
		I	46.8	I	18.9	I
			-----I-----I-----I			
	3.	I	60	I	9	I 69
Unsafe		I	87.0	I	13.0	I 34.3
		I	39.0	I	19.1	I
		I	29.9	I	4.5	I
			-----I-----I-----I			
	COLUMN		154		47	201
	TOTAL		76.6		23.4	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.42176 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT $p = .02$

Table 26

Safe Environment Item #39
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT	I					
ROW	PCT	I	CHILDREN	TEACHERS		ROW	TOTAL
COL	PCT	I					
TOT	PCT	I	1.1	2.1			
	1.	I	48	I	31	I	79
No Theft		I	60.8	I	39.2	I	39.3
		I	31.2	I	66.0	I	
		I	23.9	I	15.4	I	
	3.	I	106	I	16	I	122
Theft		I	86.9	I	13.1	I	60.7
		I	68.8	I	34.0	I	
		I	52.7	I	8.0	I	
COLUMN			154		47		201
TOTAL			76.8		23.4		100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 16.83928 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .0001

Table 27

Safe Environment Item #40
Distribution of Child and Teacher Scores

	COUNT		CHILDREN	TEACHERS	
ROW	PCT				ROW
COL	PCT				TOTAL
TOT	PCT		1.1	2.1	
Safe	1.	39	1	1	40
		97.5	2.5		19.9
		25.3	2.1		
		19.4	0.5		
Unsafe	3.	115	46		161
		71.4	28.6		80.1
		74.7	97.9		
		57.2	22.9		
COLUMN		154	47	201	
TOTAL		76.6	23.4	100.0	

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 10.74436 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANT AT p = .001